

A NEW  
HISTORY  
OF  
ENGLAND,

FROM THE  
DESCENT of the ROMANS,  
TO THE  
DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO  
His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.  
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY is *philosophy teaching by examples.*  
Bolingbroke from Dion. Halli.

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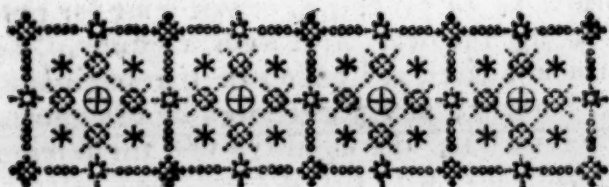
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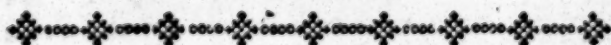
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T H E  
History of ENGLAND.



The HISTORY of Queen ANNE  
continued. A. D. 1712.

 E have already observed, that  
the emperor had refused to agree  
to the negotiation, which had  
for some time been carrying on  
between the courts of London and  
Versailles; and had employed his utmost  
endeavours, in order, if possible, to render

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it ineffectual. Failing, however, in all his attempts, he now sent over prince Eugene to England with a letter to the queen, and instructions to propose a new scheme for prosecuting the war with fresh vigour. The prince arrived at London in the beginning of January; and was treated by the queen, the ministers, the nobility, and the foreign ambassadors, with that distinguished respect, which was so justly due to his high quality and eminent talents.

Her majesty told him, in a private audience, that she was sorry her health did not permit her to speak with his highness as often as she could wish; but that she had ordered the treasurer and secretary St. John to receive his proposals, and confer with him as frequently as he should think proper. He expressed an uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding his disgrace. The lord treasurer, while he entertained him at dinner, said, "that he looked upon that day as the happiest in the whole course of his life, since he had the honour to see in his house the greatest captain of his age." The prince briskly replied, "If I am, it is owing to your lordship:" alluding to the earl's intrigues, which had deprived the duke of Marlborough of all his employments, and by that means de-

delivered the prince from a rival in military fame.

When bishop Burnet conversed with him about the scandalous libels that were every day published against the duke, and in particular took notice of one paragraph, in which the author allowed he had been once fortunate, the prince observed it was the greatest compliment, that could possibly be paid him, inasmuch as it tacitly acknowledged, that all his other successes were owing to his courage and conduct.

The Tories seemed at first to concur with the Whigs in shewing their respect for this illustrious stranger; but it soon appeared, that all their complaisance was no more than hypocrisy and dissimulation. They knew that the prince was a friend to the Whig party; they were sensible, that he held private conferences with the duke of Marlborough, the earl of Sunderland, the lords Somers, Hallifax, and others; and they were apprehensive, that, by his influence with these noblemen, he might confirm them in a more violent opposition to the treaty of peace that was now on the carpet. They therefore resolved to make his stay in the kingdom as disagreeable as possible. With this view they excited party-riots in order to insult his person: they had even the info-

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lence to insert in one of the public papers some scandalous reflections on the countess of Soissons, his mother. The prince bore these affronts with his usual magnanimity : and finding it impossible to make any impression on the queen or her ministers, retired to the continent, as much displeased with the court as he had reason to be satisfied with the people of England.

By this time the parliament was re-assembled ; and the queen being confined with the gout, sent a message to both houses importing, that the plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht, and were employed in concerting measures for procuring satisfaction to all her allies : that the terms of peace should be communicated to the parliament before they were finally concluded : that, in the mean time, she was resolved to make preparations for an early campaign : and she therefore hoped the commons would think proper to grant the necessary supplies for that purpose.

The duke of Devonshire having, in consequence of a motion which he had formerly made, prepared a bill for giving precedence to the elector of Hanover, as duke of Cambridge, before the rest of the English nobility ; the treasurer, conscious of  
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the popularity of such a measure, resolved to take the merit of it to himself.

Accordingly he introduced a bill for giving precedence to the whole electoral family, as children and nephews of the crown; and when it was passed into an act, he sent it over to Hanover by Mr. Thomas Harley. By this means he hoped to blind the eyes of the elector, and convince him of the sincere attachment of the present ministry to the interest of his family; but that prince was too sagacious not to see through such a thin disguise, and he resolved to repose his confidence in those, on whom he could more safely depend.

The Tories had so long carried all before them with an uncontrouled authority, that they were now become impatient of the least contradiction; and as some members, though they could not form any considerable opposition, still took the liberty of exposing their conduct with equal spirit and ability, they determined to wreak their vengeance on all such as dared to be guilty of this insolent presumption.

The first torrent of their wrath was directed against Mr. Robert Walpole, who had for some time enjoyed the post of secretary at war. This gentleman finding the contractors for the forage in Scotland derived great profits from  
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this branch of business, recommended a friend of his own to be admitted as a partner. The contractors, rather than discover the secret of their trade, agreed to present the person recommended, with the sum of five hundred pounds. But as they were ignorant of his manner of address, they directed the bill to Mr. Robert Walpole, who indorsed it, and the gentleman received the money. Both he, and the contractors who remitted it, solemnly declared, that Mr. Walpole had never touched a single farthing of the present. The commons had no regard to these declarations. They construed this transaction into a bribe. They voted Mr. Walpole guilty of corruption, committed him to the Tower, and expelled him the house; and when he was afterwards rechosen for Lynn-Regis, which he had before represented, they procured a petition to be lodged against him, and voted him incapable to be elected a member to serve in the present parliament.

Their next attack was upon the duke of Marlborough, who was accused of corruption, in having received a yearly present of five thousand pounds from Sir Solomon Medina the Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; besides the sum of ten thousand pounds a year granted him by the queen to defray  
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the expence of secret intelligence; and a deduction of two and a half per cent from the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England.

It was alledged in his defence, that the present from the Jew was a customary perquisite, which had always been enjoyed by the general of the Dutch army: that the deduction of two and a half per cent was allowed him by an express warrant from her majesty: that all the articles of the charge, joined together, hardly amounted to thirty thousand pounds, one third less than that which had been granted to king William for contingencies: that all the money was expended in procuring intelligence, which was so exact, that the duke had never once been surprized; none of his parties had ever been intercepted or cut off; and all his designs were so well concerted, that not so much as one of them had ever miscarried.

But the commons were not met to examine arguments; hardly even to inquire into facts; their only intention was to blacken and disgrace the characters of their enemies, and they therefore voted, that the duke's practices were unwarrantable and illegal; and that the deduction was to be accounted for as public money. These resolutions

tions were laid before the queen, who ordered the attorney-general to prosecute the duke for the money he had received by virtue of her own warrant. How this proceeding in her majesty could be reconciled to a sense of gratitude, or even to principles of common justice or equity, we leave abler philosophers to determine.

The commons were not satisfied with expressing their resentment against such of their own countrymen, as had contributed to humble the power of France; they were likewise determined to mortify all those, whether natives or foreigners, who had in any shape assisted in supporting the Protestant interest: and as the Dutch had bore the most considerable share in this laudable undertaking, they next directed the thunder of their artillery against that republic. They pretended, that the States had been deficient in their proportion of troops, both in Spain and the Netherlands, during the whole course of the war; and that the queen had paid above three millions of crowns in subsidies, more than what she was obliged to furnish by her engagements.

They then fell upon the Barrier-treaty, which had been concluded with the States by lord Townsend, after the conferences at Gertruydenburg. By this treaty, England  
agreed

agreed to guaranty a barrier to the Dutch in the Netherlands; and the States obliged themselves to maintain with their whole force, the queen's title and the Protestant succession.

The Tories alledged, that, by this treaty, the Dutch were authorized to interpose in British councils: they said, that the States being possessed of all those strong towns, which formed their barrier, might, some time or other, exclude the English from trading to them, and interfere with the manufactures of Great-Britain: and transported by the heat of their zeal, they even affirmed, that England was disgraced by engaging any other people to defend a succession, which the nation might see cause to alter.

The Tories had lately professed the most inviolable attachment to the Protestant succession; and it was only by such professions that they were able to retain their present popularity. Here, however, they seem almost to have thrown off the mask, and fairly to have acknowledged their true and genuine sentiments; and indeed the veil, which covered their designs, was to the eye of every sensible and unprejudiced man so thin and transparent, that had not the nation been blinded to a degree of insatuation, they  
must

must have easily seen through it. But the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, and the apprehensions of the danger to which they imagined the church was exposed; had involved the people in such a thick and impenetrable mist, that they were absolutely incapable of discerning any other object. The commons, relying upon this deception, immediately voted, that in the barrier treaty there were several articles destructive to the trade and interest of Great-Britain; that the lord viscount Townsend had no orders nor authority to conclude several articles in that treaty; and that he and all those who advised its being ratified were enemies to the queen and kingdom. All their votes were digested into a long and flaming representation, which they presented to the queen, and in which they asserted, that, during the war, England had been overcharged nineteen millions: a circumstance, which, they said, implied either fraud or mismanagement in the late ministry.

The States, alarmed at these resolutions, wrote a respectful letter to the queen, representing the necessity of a good barrier for the security of England as well as of Holland; and finding no regard was paid to this application, they thought proper to draw up a long memorial, in which their own conduct  
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in the course of the war was sufficiently vindicated, and every article in the representation of the commons was fully answered and confuted. This memorial was inserted in one of the English papers, and began to make some impression on the minds of the people; when the commons, in order to prevent its further influence, voted it a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, reflecting on the resolutions of the house, and caused the printer and publisher to be taken into custody, as guilty of a breach of privilege.

Proceeding still in the same rapid career, they repealed the naturalization-act; and as they knew that the union of the two kingdoms was one of the chief bulwarks of the Protestant succession, they resolved, if possible, to provoke the Scots to such a degree, as to make them wish for a dissolution of that treaty. With this view they brought in a bill granting a toleration to the episcopal clergy in Scotland; a measure, which, however seemingly reasonable in itself, was so disagreeable to the people of that country, that their general assembly presented a representation, declaring, that the act for securing the Presbyterian government was an essential and fundamental article of the union; and that the toleration, which was

now granted, was a manifest violation of that article.

The commons were so far from paying any regard to this remonstrance, that they not only proceeded with the bill, but even inserted a clause, prohibiting civil magistrates from executing the sentences of kirk-judicatories; a restriction which was certainly the most likely method of exposing the established church to the contempt of the people. In order still farther to exasperate the Scots, they passed another bill for discontinuing the courts of judicature during Christmas, though the observation of holidays was directly contrary to the principles of the Presbyterians. This bill was violently opposed by all the Scottish members; and when it was read a third time, Sir David Dalrymple said, "since the house is resolved to make no alteration in the body of this bill, I acquiesce; and only desire it may be intitled, A bill for establishing Jacobitism and immorality."

To complete the chagrin of the Scottish Presbyterians, a third bill was passed, restoring the right of patronage, which had been taken away at the time of the reformation, afterwards restored when episcopacy was introduced, and again abolished when the discipline of the kirk was last established. The

Scot

Scots exclaimed loudly against these violations of their privileges; but contrary to the expectation of the commons, they rather chose to put up with the injury, than petition for a repeal of the Union.

The commons next proceeded to the consideration of the supplies, which they readily granted, amounting, in all, to about six millions; part of which was to be raised by two lotteries. Soon after the treasurer formed a bill for resuming all the grants made since the Revolution; but this scheme was warmly opposed by all who wished well to the memory of king William; and the bill was rejected though but by a small majority.

By this time the conferences for peace were begun at Utrecht. The British plenipotentiaries were Robinson bishop of Bristol, lord privy seal, and the earl of Strafford: the chief of the Dutch deputies were Buys and Vanderdussen; and the French king granted his powers to the mareschal D'Uxelles, the abbot de Polignac, and monsieur Menager, who had been in England. The ministers of the emperor and Savoy likewise assisted at the congress; to which the empire and the other allies afterwards sent their plenipotentiaries, though not without reluctance. The only intention, however, of this congress appears

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to have been to amuse and cajole the confederates, until the secret treaty, which had so long been negotiating between the courts of London and Versailles, should be finally completed.

As this last treaty was industriously concealed from the knowledge of the public, the English plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were furnished with general powers and instructions, being ignorant of the agreement which the queen had made with the French monarch, touching the kingdom of Spain, which was to be ceded to the Bourbon family. This secret plan of negotiation, however, had well nigh been defeated by a concurrence of untoward accidents, which happened about this period. The dauphin had died of the small-pox in the spring of the preceding year; having left behind him three sons, the duke of Burgundy, the king of Spain, and the duke of Berry. He was succeeded in his title by the eldest of these, the duke of Burgundy, who now expired on the eighteenth day of February, six days after his wife, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. The parents were soon followed to the grave by their eldest son, the duke of Brittany, in the sixth year of his age; so that of the duke of Burgundy's children, none remained alive, but the duke  
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of Anjou, afterwards Lewis the fifteenth, who was at that time a sickly infant.

Such a series of calamities could not fail to be extremely afflicting to the French court: but they were much more alarming to the queen of England, who perceived, that nothing but the precarious life of an unhealthy child prevented the two crowns of France and Spain from being united on the head of the same monarch; an union to which, however little she and her ministers might be averse, she knew, she should never, by any means, be able to reconcile the rest of the allies. She therefore sent the Abbé Gualtier to Paris, with a memorial representing the imminent danger, to which the liberties of Europe would be exposed, should Philip ever ascend the throne of France; and requiring, that he should renounce his title to that crown in favour of his brother the duke of Berry.

Mean while the French plenipotentiaries at Utrecht were persuaded to deliver their proposals in writing, under the name of specifick offers; which were as high and extravagant, as Lewis could possibly have demanded, had his affairs been in the most prosperous situation. These imported, that, at the conclusion of the treaty, Lewis should acknowledge the queen's title, and the Pro-

testant succession : that Spain and the West-Indies should remain to king Philip: that the Spanish dominions in Italy, with the islands, except Sicily, should be ceded to the emperor; and the Spanish Netherlands to the duke of Bavaria: that the trade between Spain and the maritime powers should be established upon its ancient footing: that the Newfoundland fishery should be restored to England; though the French should retain the island of Placentia, with the liberty of catching and drying fish, as formerly: that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished; but the allies should deliver up Lille and Tournay, as an equivalent: that the States should have the barrier they demanded: that Landau, Fenestrelles, and Exiles, should be restored to France, and the frontier between that kingdom, the empire and Italy, be fixed in the same manner as before the commencement of the war.

These proposals were received in England with that contempt and indignation, which they so richly deserved. Lord Halifax, in the house of peers, affirmed that they were trifling, arrogant, and injurious to her majesty and her allies; and an address was presented to the queen, importing, that they entertained the highest resentment at the insolence of France, and would assist her to the utmost of their  
power

power in prosecuting the war, until they should obtain a safe and honourable peace. Soon after the plenipotentiaries of the confederates delivered their specific demands, which were no other than the principal objects, for which the war had been originally undertaken; the cession of the whole Spanish monarchy to the emperor; the restoration of Newfoundland to England; the demolition of Dunkirk; the securing of a good barrier to the Dutch; and proper satisfaction to all the other allies.\*

Mean while the British court was deeply engaged in negotiating the private treaty, which  
had

\* Among the other articles, on which the allies insisted, one was an indulgence in favour of the French Protestants. The Abbot de Polignac, who aspired to the dignity of cardinal, and of consequence could not fail to be extremely zealous for the Romish church, appeared the most obstinate on this point. Discouraging, one day, with Vanderdussen, the Dutch plenipotentiary, about releasing the French Protestants, that were condemned to the galleys or detained in prison, he asked the Dutchman, "whether, if the French king should demand it, the States would dismiss the people condemned in their Spin-house and Rasp-house? Vanderdussen briskly replied, "that, if the French court would acknowledge the people detained in those houses as their brethren, in the same manner as the States acknowledged the French Protestants condemned to galleys, he doubted not but their High Mightinesses would set those malefactors at liberty."

had been so long on the carpet ; and most of the articles being now brought to some degree of maturity, the queen resolved to find some plausible pretext for disclosing her intentions. With this view she ordered her ministers at Utrecht to make some trifling offers to the States-general, and at the same time to tell them, that she would take her measures, according to the return they should make on this occasion. What these measures were, however, she did not think proper to explain ; and because the States refused to agree to conditions of which they were entirely ignorant, she sent fresh orders to her ministers to acquaint them, that, as they had rejected her friendly proposals, she looked upon herself as released from all engagements. The ministers of the allies had insisted on a written answer to their specific demands ; and this the French plenipotentiaries declined, until they should be furnished with fresh instructions from their master. Such was the pretence for interrupting the conferences ; but the real design was to procure a delay until Philip's renunciation should arrive ; which, at last, however, was granted, and followed by a cessation of arms.

In the beginning of April, the duke of Ormond, who was now invested with the supreme command of the British forces, repaired

paired to the Hague, and assured the States, that he had her majesty's express orders to act vigorously in the prosecution of the war. He was joined by prince Eugene at Tournay; and on the twenty-first day of May, the allied army, passing the Schelde, encamped at Solemnes and Neufville.

The Imperial general proposed that they should attack the French army under Villars, or invest the town of Quesnoy; but by this time the duke had received fresh orders, by which he was restrained from hazarding either siege or battle: a circumstance well known to the French commander, who thenceforth continued to correspond with his grace. It could not be long concealed from prince Eugene and the deputies, who instantly dispatched an express to their principals on the subject, and afterwards delivered a long memorial to the duke, representing the danger, which must necessarily result to the grand alliance, by his obedience to such an order. He seemed to be extremely dissatisfied with his situation; and, in a letter to secretary St. John, expressed a desire, that the queen would allow him to return to England.

Notwithstanding the queen's order, which Ormond had not yet openly declared, prince Eugene laid siege to the town of Quesnoy; and

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and the duke furnished, towards this enterprize, seven battalions and nine squadrons of the foreign troops maintained jointly by Great-Britain and Holland. The Dutch deputies at Utrecht, expostulating with the bishop of Bristol, upon the duke's refusing to co-operate with the allies, that prelate told them, that he had lately received an express with a letter from her majesty, intimating, that, as the States-General had not properly answered her advances, they ought not to be surprized, if she now thought herself at liberty to enter into a separate negociation, in order to procure a peace for her own convenience. The deputies remonstrating against such a conduct, as contrary to all the alliances between the queen and the States-General, the bishop said, his instructions further imported, that, considering the conduct of the States toward her majesty, she thought herself disengaged from all alliances and engagements with their High Mightinesses.

Such a base and disingenuous proceeding, for surely it deserves no better name, could not fail to alarm the States-General. They instantly concerted measures with the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and some other princes of the empire, for maintaining the troops, that were in the joint pay of England and Holland. They wrote

wrote a long letter to the queen, and ordered their envoy at London to deliver it into her own hand. Count Zinzendorf, the emperor's plenipotentiary, dispatched expresses to his master, to prince Eugene, and to the Imperial ambassador at London. The queen and her ministers seemed to be startled at the violence of their own measures. A council was immediately held at Kensington; and fresh orders were sent to the duke of Ormond, commanding him to concur with the general of the allies in a siege.

The duke's conduct was no sooner known in England, than the whole nation was filled with surprize and indignation. In the house of peers the lord Hallifax represented the ill consequences of the duke's refusing to cooperate with prince Eugene; and moved for an address, entreating her majesty would be pleased to order her general to act offensively, in concert with the allies. The treasurer alledged; that it was imprudent to hazard a battle on the eve of a peace, especially considering they had to deal with an enemy so apt to break his word. The earl of Wharton replied, that he was extremely glad to hear his lordship acknowledge the insincerity of the French king; but that, in his opinion, this was a strong reason for keeping no measures with such an enemy,  
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but rather for pushing him to the utmost extremity, till at last he should be compelled to act with sincerity and uprightness.

When Oxford declared, that the duke of Ormond had received instructions to join the allies in a siege, the duke of Marlborough observed, that, for his own part, he could not reconcile to the rules of war, orders to join in a siege, and not to hazard a battle; inasmuch as a siege could not be carried on, without risking a battle, if the enemy should endeavour to relieve the place, or shamefully abandoning the enterprize. The earl of Nottingham said, that he could not comprehend the meaning of giving orders to an English general to avoid an engagement, unless some persons were apprehensive of weakening the French to such a degree, as to render them incapable of contributing towards the accomplishment of designs, which, as yet, they were afraid to own.

The duke of Devonshire added, that he was, by proximity of blood, more nearly concerned than any other person, in the reputation of the duke of Ormond; and therefore could not help expressing his surprize, that any one should dare to make a nobleman of the first rank, and of so distinguished a character, the instrument of such proceedings. Earl Pawlet answered, that no  
body

body could doubt the duke of Ormond's courage; but he was not like a certain general, who led troops to the slaughter, to cause a great number of officers to be knocked on the head, that he might fill his pockets by disposing of their commissions.

This reflection was so evidently pointed at the duke of Marlborough, that no one could mistake its meaning. His grace had the temper to dissemble his resentment for the present; but the moment the house was dismissed, he sent lord Mohun to the earl with a message, importing, that he should be glad to come to an explanation with his lordship about some expressions which he had used in that day's debate: and desiring his company to take the air in the country.

Pawler's insolence was only exceeded by his cowardice. He was instantly seized with an universal trepidation; and his lady perceiving his emotion, enquired the cause of his panic. This she had no sooner learned, than she communicated the intelligence to the earl of Dartmouth, secretary of state. Two centinels were immediately placed at his lordship's gate: the queen, by the canal of lord Dartmouth, desired the duke of Marlborough to proceed no farther in the quarrel: and he assured her that he would punctually obey her majesty's commands.

Some lords having expressed their apprehensions of a separate peace, the earl of Oxford assured them, that nothing of that kind was ever intended : that such a peace would be so base, so knavish, and so villainous, that every one who served the queen, knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation : that, on the contrary, it would appear to be a safe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the first preliminaries granted by the enemy : and that the allies were already acquainted with the conditions, and had expressed their entire satisfaction and acquiescence in the terms. This last assertion was a downright falshood : the former epithets were but too applicable to some of the present ministry. The question being put for adjourning the debate, the point was carried by a considerable majority, but twenty-five lords protested against the orders which had been given to the duke of Ormond.

The earl of Strafford, who had returned from Holland, proposed that they should examine the negociations of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, before they discussed the treaty of Utrecht. He alledged, that in the former negociations, the French ministers had conferred only with the pensionary, who imparted no more of it to the allies, than  
what

what he thought proper : so that the Dutch alone were masters of the secret. He affirmed, that the States-General had agreed to give Naples and Sicily to king Philip ; a circumstance which proved, that the recovery of the whole Spanish monarchy, was deemed an impracticable undertaking. He concluded with a motion for addressing the queen, that the papers relating to the negotiations of the Hague and Gertruydenburg, might be laid before the house. The motion was carried without a division ; though nothing followed from this examination. The only intention of it was to amuse the house, until the present treaty should be brought to a conclusion.

The ministry were no less powerful in the lower, than in the upper house. Mr. Pulteney having moved for an address to her majesty, acquainting her, that her faithful commons were alarmed at the intelligence they had received from abroad, that her general in Flanders had declined acting offensively against France, in concurrence with her allies, and beseeching her, that she would send him speedy orders to prosecute the war with vigour, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

A certain member, having affirmed, that the present negotiation had been conducted

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in a clandestine and treacherous manner, Mr. secretary St. John said, he hoped it would not be accounted treachery to act for the good of Great-Britain : that he gloried in the small share he had had in the transaction ; and whatever censure he might incur for it, the bare satisfaction of acting in that view, would be a sufficient recompence and comfort to him during the remaining part of his life.

After some other speeches, the house resolved, that the commons had an entire confidence in her majesty's promise to communicate, to her parliament, the terms of peace, before it should be concluded : and that they would support her against all such persons, either at home or abroad, as should endeavour to obstruct it. The queen thanked them heartily for this resolution, as being dutiful to her, honest to their country, and very seasonable at a time, when so many artifices were used to obstruct a good peace, or force one disadvantageous to Britain.

The ministry, apprehending that Philip would be unwilling to resign his hopes of succeeding to the throne of France, proposed an expedient, that, in case of his preferring his expectation of the crown of France, to the present possession of Spain, this kingdom, with the Indies, should be immediately

l y given to the duke of Savoy, and that Philip should possess the duke's hereditary dominions, and the kingdom of Sicily, together with the Montferrat and Mantua; all which territories he should still retain, even in the event of his succeeding to the French crown, except Sicily, which should revert to the house of Austria. Lewis seemed to approve of this proposal, but it was rejected by Philip, who chose rather to renounce his prospect of the French crown, than quit the throne on which he was established.

This renunciation, however, was of no avail, being directly contrary to the fundamental laws and constitution of the French monarchy: and the marquis de Torcy acknowledged this circumstance in a letter which he wrote to the secretary St. John. But the truth is, the English ministers seem to have been more desirous of exalting than depressing the Bourbon family; and, as a proof of this, they did not even insist upon the deed's being ratified by the states of France; they were content with its being registered in the different parliaments of that kingdom. The articles of the treaty being now, in some measure adjusted, the queen sent orders to the duke of Ormond to proclaim a cessation of arms in the Netherlands,

and even to act in concert with the French general.

On the fifth day of June her majesty came to the house of peers, and communicated the plan of peace to the parliament according to the promise she had made. She said, that though the making peace and war was the undoubted prerogative of the crown, yet she had such just confidence in her faithful parliament, that she now thought proper to acquaint them with the terms, upon which a solid peace might be finally concluded: that as the establishing the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover was the point she had nearest at heart, she had taken particular care, not only to have that article acknowledged in the strongest terms, but likewise to have the additional security of seeing the pretender removed from the French dominions: that, with regard to the grand object of the war, the preventing the union of the two crowns of France and Spain, the duke of Anjou had engaged to renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the crown of France; so that the two monarchies would be for ever divided: that the nature of this proposal was such as would execute itself; it would be the interest of Spain to support the renunciation; and in France the persons intitled to the

the succession upon the death of the dauphin, would be powerful enough to assert their own right : that a treaty of commerce between England and France was already begun, though not yet completed ; but provision had been made that England should enjoy the same privileges that France granted to any other nation : that as the division of St. Christopher's between the two nations had hitherto been the source of much controversy, the French king had agreed to make an absolute cession of that whole island : that he had likewise consented to restore the bay and straits of Hudson ; to deliver up the island of Newfoundland, with Placentia ; to cede Annapolis, with the rest of Acadia or Nova Scotia ; to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk ; and to leave England in possession of Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, and the whole island of Minorca : that the trade to Spain and the West-Indies might be settled as it was in the reign of his late Catholic majesty ; and that she had further obtained for her subjects the *Assiento* or contract for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with negroes for the space of thirty years, in the same manner as it had been enjoyed by the French : that she had not taken upon her to determine the interests of her allies, which must be adjusted in the congress at Utrecht, where

where her best endeavours should be employed in order to procure them all just and reasonable satisfaction: that, in the mean time, she could assure them, that France offered to make the Rhine the barrier of the empire; to yield Brisac, Fort Kehl, and Landau, and raze all the fortresses both on the other side of the Rhine, and in the islands of that river: that the Protestant interest in Germany would be re-settled on the footing of the treaty of Westphalia: that the Spanish Netherlands, the kingdoms of Naples and Sardinia, the dutchy of Milan, and the places belonging to Spain on the coast of Tuscany, might be yielded to his Imperial majesty; but the disposition of Sicily, though agreed to be ceded by the duke of Anjou, was not yet determined: that the demands of the States-general with relation to commerce and the barrier in the Low countries, would be granted with a few exceptions, which might be compensated with other expedients: that no great progress had been made in settling the pretensions of Portugal, which depended chiefly on the disposition of Spain; but those of Prussia, she believed, would be admitted by France without much difficulty: that the difference between the barrier demanded by the duke of Savoy in 1709, and that now offered by  
France

France was very inconsiderable : that the elector Palatine should maintain his present rank among the electors, and continue in possession of the upper Palatinate ; and that France would acknowledge the electoral dignity in the house of Hanover : that these were the conditions, upon which a peace might be concluded, and they were such, she hoped, as would make some amends to her people for the great and unequal burden they had borne during the whole course of the war : that she doubted not but they were fully convinced, that nothing would be neglected on her part, in the progress of the negociation, to bring the peace to a happy and speedy issue : and that, in this great work, she depended on the entire confidence and chearful concurrence of her parliament.

These terms were so disagreeable to the nation in general, that the public funds, which upon the prospect of a good peace, had, that very morning, risen about five per cent, immediately fell to their former value. A majority, however, was already secured in both houses of parliament ; and this seems to have been the only thing about which the ministry were concerned. An address of thanks and approbation was instantly voted, drawn up, and presented by the commons in a body. When the house of lords took the  
speech

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speech into consideration, the duke of Marlborough affirmed, that the measures pursued for a year past were directly contrary to her majesty's engagements with her allies: that they sullied the triumphs and glories of her reign, and would render the English name odious to all nations. The earl of Strafford said, that some of the allies would not have shewn such backwardness to a peace, had they not been persuaded and encouraged to carry on the war by a member of that illustrious assembly, who maintained a secret correspondence with them, and fed them with hopes that they would be supported by a strong party in England.

To this insinuation against the duke of Marlborough, lord Cowper replied, that the nobleman who spoke last, had resided so long abroad, that he seemed to have forgot the constitution of his country: that, according to our laws, it could never be suggested as a crime in the meanest subject, much less in any member of that august assembly, to hold correspondence with the allies of the nation; such allies especially, whose interest her majesty had declared to be inseparable from her own, in her speech at the opening of the session: whereas, it would be a hard matter to reconcile either with our laws, or with the laws of honour and justice, the conduct of  
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some persons, in treating clandestinely with the common enemy, without the participation of the allies.

With regard to the article about re-settling the trade to Spain and the Indies upon the same footing as in the reign of the late king, the earl of Godolphin affirmed, that, during the time he was in the administration of affairs, he had always observed, and he could easily prove it, by the books of the Custom-house, that the trade to Portugal, even in time of war, brought into England double the wealth of what the trade to Spain afforded in times of peace; and, whatever might be alledged to the contrary, it was to be presumed, that the trade to Spain would be less advantageous for the future, inasmuch as the French had made themselves absolute masters of that branch of commerce.

The Tories, however, were less anxious about answering objections, than finishing the debate, as they were fully assured of a considerable majority. The house accordingly agreed to an address, in which they thanked the queen for her extraordinary condescension, in communicating the conditions of peace to her parliament; and expressed an entire satisfaction with her conduct. A motion was made for a clause in the address, desiring her majesty, to take such  
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measures, in concert with her allies, as might induce them to join with her in a mutual guaranty. Strong arguments were used in favour of this motion, but the question being put, the clause was rejected.

The commons, in order to demonstrate their attachment to the court, resolved to express their displeasure against bishop Fleetwood, who, in a preface to four sermons, which he had published, took occasion to extol the late ministry, at the expence of the present administration. The bishop concludes his preface in the following spirited manner. "Never," says he, "did seven such  
 " years pass together over the head of any  
 " English monarch, nor cover it with so much  
 " honour. The crown and sceptre seemed  
 " to be the queen's least ornaments. Those  
 " other princes wore in common with her;  
 " and her great personal virtues were the  
 " same both before and after her accession.  
 " But such was the fame of her administration at home; such was the reputation of  
 " her wisdom and sagacity in chusing ministers; and such was esteemed their faithfulness and zeal, their diligence and abilities  
 " in executing her commands: to such a  
 " height of military glory did her great general and her armies carry the British  
 " name abroad; such was the harmony and  
 " concord

“ concord between her and her allies ; and  
“ such was the blessing of God upon her  
“ counsels and undertakings, that I am as  
“ sure as history can make me, no English  
“ prince was ever yet so prosperous and suc-  
“ cessful, so loved, esteemed, and honoured  
“ by their subjects and their friends, nor  
“ near so formidable to their enemies. We  
“ were just then entering, as all the world  
“ imagined, on those ways, which promised  
“ to lead to such a peace, as would have an-  
“ swered the prayers of our religious queen,  
“ the care and vigilance of a most able mini-  
“ stry, the contributions of a willing and  
“ obedient people, and the glorious toils  
“ and hazards of the soldiery ; when God,  
“ for our sins, permitted the spirit of dis-  
“ cord to go forth ; and by troubling fore  
“ the camp, the city, and the country (and  
“ oh ! that it had altogether spared the  
“ places sacred to his worship) to spoil, for  
“ a time, this beautiful and pleasing pros-  
“ pect ; and to give us, in its stead, I know  
“ not what.—Our enemies will tell the  
“ rest with pleasure.”

Complaint being made of this piece in  
the house, the commons voted it seditious and  
malicious, tending to create discord and se-  
dition among her majesty's subjects ; and  
condemned it to be burnt by the hands of the

common hangman. At the same time, they presented an address to the queen, assuring her of the just sense they had of the indignity offered her by printing and publishing a letter from the States-general; and desiring she would so far resent such insults as to give no answer, for the future, to any letters or memorials, that should be ushered into the world in that manner.

As a farther proof of their complaisance, when Mr. Hampden moved for an address to her majesty, intreating she would give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that in the conclusion of the treaty of peace, the several powers in alliance with England, might be guarantees for the Protestant succession in the illustrious house of Hanover; they not only rejected the motion, but likewise resolved, that they had such confidence in the repeated declarations her majesty had made of her concern for assuring to these kingdoms the Protestant succession as by law established, that they could never doubt her taking the proper measures for the security of the same: that the house would support her against faction at home, and her enemies abroad; and did humbly beseech her, that she would be pleased to discountenance all those, who should endeavour to raise jealousies between her majesty and her subjects,

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especially by misrepresenting her good intentions for the welfare of her subjects.

The queen could not fail to be highly pleased with these loyal proceedings of the commons. For this last resolution, in particular, she heartily thanked them, and said, that they had shown themselves honest assertors of the monarchy, zealous defenders of the constitution, and real friends to the Protestant succession.

On the twenty-first day of June her majesty came to the house of peers, and closed the session with a speech, in which she expressed her satisfaction at the addresses and supplies she had received; observed, that should the treaty be broke off, many mischiefs would ensue; their burdens would be continued, if not encreased; Britain would lose the present opportunity of improving her own commerce, and establishing a real balance of power in Europe; and, though some of the allies might be gainers by a continuance of the war, the rest would suffer in the common calamity. The speech being finished, the parliament was adjourned to the eighth day of July, and afterwards prorogued to the thirtieth of the same month.

Notwithstanding the complaisance of the parliament, the nation was filled with the highest indignation at the terms of peace,

and made no scruple of avowing their sentiments. The ministry, however, found means to procure addresses approving their conduct from the city of London, and from most of the corporations and counties in the kingdom, and these they very gravely interpreted into a certain mark of the satisfaction of the public.

Mean while the trenches were opened before Quesnoy, and the siege carried on with uncommon vigour under the direction of general Pagel. The duke of Ormond continued, for some time, to command the covering army; but having at last received a copy of the articles signed by the marquis de Torcy, and fresh instructions from the queen, he acquainted prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, that the French king had agreed to certain conditions demanded by the queen as the foundation of an armistice; and, among others, to deliver immediately the town of Dunkirk into the hands of the English: that he could therefore no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy, as he was obliged by his instructions to march with the British troops and those in the queen's pay; and to declare a suspension of arms, as soon as he should be in possession of Dunkirk. He expressed his hope, that they would readily approve of these instructions, as their compliance

pliance would act as the most powerful motive to induce the queen to take all possible care of their interests in the treaty; and he endeavoured to convince them, that Dunkirk, as a cautionary town, was a place of greater consequence to the allies than Queſnoy.

The deputies desired he would defer his march five days, that they might have time to consult their principals, and after some hesitation he granted three days for that purpose. Prince Eugene observed, that his marching off with the British troops, and the foreigners in the queen's pay, would leave the allies at the mercy of the enemy: but he was confident these last would not obey his orders. He and the deputies had already found means to secure their commanding officers, who flatly refused to obey the duke of Ormond, alledging, in excuse, that, neither the grand alliance, nor the particular conventions, allowed any of the parties to treat of terms, to conclude a peace, or even agree to a suspension of arms without the consent of the others: that they could not therefore separate from the confederacy without express directions from their masters, to whom they had dispatched couriers.

The messenger from the deputies being arrived in Holland, the whole country was thrown into consternation. Mr. Carver,

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senior burgomaster of Amsterdam, a man in the eighty-fourth year of his age, made a memorable speech on the occasion.

“ I am,” said he in conclusion, “ an  
 “ old man, upwards of fourscore, and have  
 “ seen far more difficult times than the  
 “ present ; I have seen the French at our  
 “ very gates ; but, by the blessing of God  
 “ on our firmness and resolution, we have  
 “ hitherto preserved our freedom. I have  
 “ no private interest in trade, nor any other  
 “ concern but the good of my country and  
 “ the common cause ; yet I would give the  
 “ half of what I possess, nay I would give  
 “ every farthing I have in the world, rather  
 “ than suffer the loss of our liberties. But  
 “ if at last we are overpowered, then let us  
 “ lay our cities under water, betake our-  
 “ selves to our ships, and sail to the East-  
 “ Indies ; and let those, who see our country  
 “ laid waste, say, “ There lived a people,  
 “ who chose to lose their country rather  
 “ than their liberty.”

An extraordinary assembly of the States was summoned to meet at the Hague. The ministers of the allies were invited to assist at the conferences ; and while they were engaged in deliberations, messengers arrived from the princes, whose troops were in British pay, assuring them, that they would  
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maintain them under the command of prince Eugene, for one month, at their own expence, and afterwards defray half the charge, provided the other half should be paid by the emperor and the States-general.

In the mean time the bishop of Bristol executed his instructions at Utrecht with no less punctuality than the duke of Ormond had done in the army. A meeting of the ministers being held, he communicated, to the other plenipotentiaries, the concessions, which France would make to the allies, and proposed a cessation of arms for two months, that they might confer in a friendly manner, and adjust the demands of all the confederates. To this proposal they made no other answer but that they had no instructions on this subject.

The duke of Savoy's ministers were so incensed at the report, which had been industriously propagated, that their master had agreed to a suspension of hostilities, and to the terms concerted between Great-Britain and France, that they publicly disowned it, as a false, scandalous, and insidious insinuation. Count Zinzendorf, the first Imperial plenipotentiary, presented a memorial to the States-general, explaining the tendency of the queen of England's speech to her parliament, and the declarations made by  
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the duke of Ormond and the bishop of Bristol, representing the danger that would result to the common cause from a cessation of arms, and exhorting them to persevere in their generous and vigorous resolutions. He proposed a renewal of the alliance for recovering the Spanish monarchy to the house of Austria, and accomplishing the other ends, for which the war had been undertaken: and he engaged, that, in the prosecution of this design, his Imperial majesty should furnish an army of, no less than one hundred and eight thousand men.

During these transactions in Holland, prince Eugene struck a stroke, which filled the whole kingdom of France with terror and consternation. He detached major-general Grovelstein, with fifteen hundred cavalry, to penetrate into the heart of that country. Grovelstein passing the Aisne on the twelfth day of June, advanced into Champagne, and crossing successively the Noire, the Maese, and the Moselle, came before the gates of Metz, to the governour of which he sent a letter with a summons, commanding him to send deputies to treat about hostages and contributions.

The governour replied, that he had nothing to send but fire and ball: and that, instead of hostages and contributions, he would  
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only furnish him with some guides, to conduct him whither he deserved to go. Grovestein, enraged at this answer, caused a great number of towns, villages, and castles, to be reduced to ashes; and then ravaging the country to a vast extent, retired unmolested with a rich booty.

The alarm produced by this irruption, reached the city of Paris: Lewis did not think himself safe at Versailles with his ordinary guards; and all the troops in the neighbourhood of the capital were ordered to assemble about the capital. Villars sent a party after Grovestein, as soon as he learned his route; but the other had gained a day's march of the French troops, which, with all their expedition, could not possibly overtake him. By way of retaliation, however, major-general Paken, a famous French Partizan, made an excursion beyond Bergen-op-zoom, and plundered the island of Terstete, belonging to Zealand.

The earl of Strafford having returned to Holland after the prorogation of the parliament, proposed a cessation of arms to the States-general, by whom it was rejected. Then he repaired to the army of the duke of Ormond, where he arrived in a few days after the reduction of Quesnoy, which surrendered on the fourth day of July, the garrison,

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rison, amounting to about two thousand six hundred men, being made prisoners of war. In the mean time the duke maintained a literary correspondence with the mareschal Villars, and was even suspected of disclosing to him the designs of the confederates. In a word, the conduct of this nobleman, though he acted in perfect obedience to the orders of his superiors, was so little agreeable to the rules of justice and equity, that the allies began to wish heartily for his absence.

France having consented to deliver up Dunkirk, a body of troops was transported from England, under the command of Brigadier Hill, who took possession of the place on the eighth day of July, the French garrison withdrawing to Winoxberg. On the sixteenth day of the same month, prince Eugene marched from his camp at Haspre, and was followed by all the auxiliaries in the British pay, except one battalion and four squadrons of the troops of Holstein-Gottorp, and Walef's regiment of dragoons belonging to the state of Liege. Next day he invested Landrecy, and committed the care of the siege to the prince of Anhalt-Deffau, while the duke of Ormond with the English forces retired from Chateau-Cambresis, and encamping at Avesne le Sequé,  
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proclaimed by sound of trumpet a cessation of arms for two months. On the same day the like suspension of arms was declared in the French army.

The Dutch were so provoked at the conduct, and so jealous of the designs of the English general, that the governours would not allow the earl of Strafford to enter Bouchaine, nor the British troops to pass through Douay, though in that town they had left a great quantity of stores, together with their principal hospital. Prince Eugene and the Dutch deputies, being informed that the duke of Ormond was directing his march towards Ghent, began to be alarmed for that city, and sent count Nassau Woudenbourg to him with a long memorial, condemning and disowning the conduct of the commanders of Bouchaine and Douay: but notwithstanding these apologies, the British troops afterwards met with the same treatment at Tournay, Oudenarde, and Lisle, into none of which they could find admittance.

The truth is, the Dutch were suspicious, that if once the English got possession of these places, they might think proper to keep them in their custody, until they should have compelled the allies to agree to the terms, which they had concerted. And that this was  
really

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really their intention appeared but too evidently from their afterwards seizing Ghent and Bruges, which could be of no use to England, but were extremely serviceable to France, and contributed considerably to distress the allies.

It was not long before the confederates felt the fatal effects of their being abandoned by the English forces. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken. The earl himself and all the surviving officers were made prisoners. The enemy found in the camp five hundred waggons loaded with bread, twelve pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of ammunition and provisions, a great number of horses, and a considerable booty; and this advantage they gained in sight of prince Eugene, who advanced on the other side of the Schelde to support Albemarle; but the bridge over that river was broken down by accident; so that he was unable to give him any assistance.

It is observable, that on the very evening which preceded the battle, the duke of Ormond sent to Denain for some pontoons, which he had lent to the earl of Albemarle; and which, notwithstanding the joint im-  
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opportunities of that nobleman, prince Eugene, and the Dutch deputies, he insisted on being returned; and it was alledged, that two French engineers went in disguise with the duke's messengers, and made their remarks on the situation of the allies. Such was the honourable conduct of those, who were now entrusted with the administration of the British affairs, and the direction of the British armies.

The defeat, which the confederates had received at Denain, was soon followed by other misfortunes. Villars immediately invested Marchiennes, where the principal stores of the allies were deposited. The place was reduced on the last day of July; and the garrison surrendering themselves prisoners of war, were conducted to Valenciennes. He afterwards undertook the siege of Douay; and prince Eugene being informed of this circumstance, abandoned his design on Landrecy, and advanced towards the enemy in order to attempt the relief of the place. The States, however, would not hazard an engagement; and the prince had the mortification to see Douay subdued by the enemy. He could not even prevent their retaking Quesnoy and Bouchaine, of which places they had made themselves masters before the middle of October; while the allies

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obtained no other compensation for their great loss, but the conquest of fort Knocque, which was surprized by de Rue, a famous partizan in the confederate army.

The British ministers at Utrecht continued to press the Dutch and other allies to join in the suspension of arms; but they lent a deaf ear to the proposal, and resolved to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Then the earl of Strafford insisted upon their admitting, to the congress, the plenipotentiaries of king Philip: but this expedient was so derogatory to the emperor's title to the Spanish throne, that it was rejected with indignation.

In the beginning of August, secretary St. John, now created lord viscount Bolingbroke, was dispatched to the court of Versailles, incognito, to put a finishing hand to the treaty between Great-Britain and France. He was attended by Mr. Prior, and the abbé Gualtier, and treated by the French court with such distinguished marks of respect, as plainly shewed, that they considered him as their sure and steady friend. Having adjusted, with the marquis de Torcy, the principal interests of the duke of Savoy, and the elector of Bavaria, he fixed the time and manner of the renunciations, and consented to a cessation of hostilities for four months,  
between

between the crowns of France and England; which was accordingly proclaimed at Paris and London. These articles being settled in a few days, Bolingbroke returned to England, and Prior remained as resident at the court of France.

Mean while, the British ministers at Utrecht, redoubled their efforts, in order to persuade the allies to agree to the terms, which the queen had concerted. The duke of Savoy was prevailed upon to accept the offers of France. Mr. Thomas Harley had been dispatched to the court of Hanover, with a view to convince the elector, that it would be for his interest to co-operate with her majesty; but that prince lent a deaf ear to all his remonstrances. "Whenever it shall please God," said he, "to call me to the throne of Britain, I hope to act, as becomes me, for the advantage of my people: in the mean time, speak to me as a German prince, and a prince of the empire."

Nor was the queen more successful in her endeavours to engage the king of Prussia in her measures. Lord Lexington was sent as ambassador to Madrid, where, on the fifth day of November, king Philip solemnly swore to observe the renunciation, which was approved and ratified by the Cortez. The like renunciation to the crown of Spain

was afterwards made by the princes of France; and Philip declared incapable of succeeding to the throne of that realm. The king of Portugal continued to adhere to the grand alliance, until his kingdom was invaded by twenty thousand Spaniards, and the town of Campo Major regularly invested; when, finding himself abandoned by the English, who had hitherto been his chief support, he ordered his minister at Utrecht to sign the suspension of arms, and excuse this step to the allies, as the pure effect of necessity. The British troops in Spain were ordered to withdraw from the army of count Staremberg, and repair to the neighbourhood of Barcelona, where they were put on board an English squadron commanded by Sir John Jennings, and transported to Minorca.

The campaign being finished in the Netherlands, the duke of Ormond returned to England. The two parties continued to persecute each other with the most implacable rancour. The anniversary of the late king's birth-day was celebrated in London with great rejoicings, by all the friends of the Revolution and the Protestant succession. The Tories represented this circumstance as a settled design to disturb the government. A ridiculous scheme was contrived to frighten the lord-treasurer with some squibs in a band-

band-box, which the ministers magnified into a conspiracy.

The duke of Hamilton having been appointed ambassador-extraordinary to the court of France, the Whigs were filled with the most dismal apprehensions; well knowing, that this nobleman was violently attached to the interest of the Pretender. He had long been engaged in a law-suit with lord Mohun about the estate of the late earl of Macclesfield; and the dispute had occasioned such an animosity between them, as was at this time productive of a duel. The principals met by appointment, in Hyde Park, accompanied by general Maccartney and colonel Hamilton. They fought with such desperate fury, that both of them were mortally wounded: Mohun died upon the spot; and the duke expired before he could be conveyed to his own house. Maccartney disappeared, and, next morning, escaped in disguise to the continent.

Though this was altogether a private quarrel, the Tories resolved to convert it into a party dispute. With this view, they got colonel Hamilton to depose, before the privy-council, that, when the principals engaged, he and Maccartney followed their example: that Maccartney was immediately disarmed: that the colonel, seeing the duke

fall upon his antagonist, threw away the swords, and ran to lift him up: and that while he was employed in raising the duke, Maccartney, having taken up one of the swords, stabbed his grace over Hamilton's shoulder, and immediately retired. The better to support the credit of this story, a proclamation was issued, promising a reward of five hundred pounds to those who would apprehend or discover Maccartney, and the dutchess of Hamilton offered three hundred pounds for the same purpose.

The falsity, however, of this report appeared sufficiently in the sequel. General Maccartney submitted to a fair trial, and, upon the clearest evidence, was acquitted of the crime which had been laid to his charge. Colonel Hamilton incurred such a load of odium by his gross prevarications in giving his evidence, that he was obliged to sell his company in the guards. And it was proved by the depositions taken at the coroner's inquest, and by the declaration of two eminent surgeons, who examined the duke's body, that the wound, which he had received in his right arm, and which was universally allowed to have been given him by lord Mohun, was the immediate cause of his death.

The duke of Marlborough hearing himself accused as the author of these party-mischiefs,

mischiefs, and seeing his enemies become every day more powerful, thought proper to retire to the continent, whither he was followed by his dutchess. He was received at Ostend, Antwerp, Maestricht, and all the other places through which he passed, with those marks of honour and respect, which were so justly due to his distinguished merit. After spending some time on the road, he repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he fixed his residence.

His friend Godolphin had died in September, with the general character of an able, cool, and dispassionate minister, who had enjoyed great credit under four successive sovereigns, and managed the finances with equal skill and integrity. The duke of Shrewsbury was appointed ambassador to France, in the room of the duke of Hamilton; the duke D'Aumont arrived at London in the same quality from the court of Versailles; and, about the same time, the queen granted an audience to the marquis de Monteleone, whom Philip had declared one of his plenipotentiaries at the congress.

The British ministry still continued to importune the allies to agree to the terms, which they had concerted. In November, the earl of Strafford presented a new plan of peace, in which the queen promised to procure

cure to the States-General, the city of Tournay, and some other places, which they could not expect to possess, should she conclude a separate treaty.

This proposal made a considerable impression on the different provinces. They now began to reflect, that the continuation of the war would entail upon them a burden, which they could not bear, especially, as the king of Portugal and the duke of Savoy had abandoned the alliance: they were tempted too by the offer of the new barrier, so much more advantageous than that, which France had proposed at the beginning of the conferences: and they were influenced by another motive; namely, the apprehensions of new dangers to the empire, from the king of Sweden, whose affairs seemed to take a favourable turn at the Ottoman Porte, through the intercession of the French monarch.

The Czar and king Augustus had invaded Pomerania: the king of Denmark had taken Staden, reduced Bremen, and laid the city of Hamburg under contribution: but count Steenbock, the Swedish general, defeated the Danish army in Mecklenburgh, ravaged Holstein with great barbarity, and reduced the town of Altena to ashes. The Grand Signior threatened to declare war against the Czar, on pretence that he had not per-

performed one of the most essential articles of the late peace, that of withdrawing his troops from Poland: but his real motive was an inclination to assist the king of Sweden.

This resolution, however, he was persuaded to relinquish, by a powerful party at the Porte, which was averse to war. Charles, who was still at Bender, was desired to return to his own kingdom, and, at the same time, assured, that the Sultan would procure him a safe passage. He treated the person who brought this message, with the most outrageous insolence, rejected the proposal with the highest indignation, fortified his house, and resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. Being attacked by a considerable body of Turkish forces, he and his attendants fought with the most desperate courage. They killed some hundreds of the assailants: but, at last, the Turks having set fire to the house, he and his followers rushed out upon the Mussulmen, who immediately disarmed him, and conducted him to Adrianople. Mean while the Czar transported an army into Finland, which he soon reduced to subjection. Steenbock continued to maintain himself in Tonningen, until his supplies being totally cut off, he was obliged to surrender himself and his troops prisoners of war; and, as these were the flower of the  
 Swedish

Swedish forces, that kingdom was struck with a general consternation.

But this reverse was not foreseen when the Dutch apprehended a rupture between the Czar and the Grand Signior, and were farther informed, that the Turks would revive the troubles in Hungary. In that event they knew the emperor would withdraw great part of his troops from the Netherlands, where the burden of the war would be devolved chiefly upon their shoulders. Influenced, therefore, by these considerations, they resolved to accept the queen's offers, and, accordingly, signed the barrier-treaty.

The same day, the plenipotentiaries of the four associated circles presented a remonstrance to the British ministers at Utrecht, importing, that, in compliance with the request of king William, they had entered into the grand alliance, by a solemn treaty concluded at Nordlingen, and afterwards ratified by the present queen of England: that, on their part, they had punctually performed all the conditions of that treaty, and chearfully borne all the calamities of a bloody and ruinous war, without troubling her majesty for one farthing of subsidy; and this they had done from an entire confidence, that, as she had always declared her satisfaction with the conduct and firmness of the circles,

circles; she would not fail remembering them at the conclusion of a peace, but would endeavour to procure them those advantages, which, considering the service they had done to the common cause, they had a right to expect: that, notwithstanding these just expectations, and the repeated assurances her majesty had given them, they had the mortification to hear, that she persisted in the opinion, that a general peace might be concluded, without granting to the circles, the least benefit from the alliance; without making them any amends for the great sums they had expended, and the numerous hardships they had borne; without indulging them with any barrier, any security: that, should this scheme take effect, it would involve the circles in utter ruin and desolation: and that they therefore begged leave to address themselves to the justice and goodness of her majesty, to the wisdom and equity of her ministers, and to the honour and humanity of the whole British nation; humbly beseeching them not to abandon such faithful and zealous allies, nor leave them in the miserable condition, in which they had been plunged by former treaties.

To this representation the British ministers replied, that, if the associated circles should not obtain what they desired, they ought

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ought to blame themselves alone, as the authors of their disappointment: that they had been deficient in furnishing their proportion of troops and other necessaries; and left the whole burden of the war, in the Netherlands, to lie upon the queen, and the States-General: that, when a cessation was judged necessary, they had deserted her majesty, to follow the chimerical projects of prince Eugene; that, while she prosecuted the war with the utmost vigour, they had acted with coldness and indifference; but, when she inclined to peace, they began to exert themselves in prosecuting hostilities with the utmost eagerness: that, nevertheless, she would not abandon their interests; but endeavour to procure for them as good conditions as their preposterous conduct would allow her to demand.

From this imperious, over-bearing answer, the associated circles were fully convinced, that they had little to expect from the intercession of England. Even the emperor began to perceive, that, should he continue the war, he must resolve to support it on his own bottom; and as he was unequal to this undertaking, he determined to accede to the general treaty, could he obtain but tolerable conditions. He ordered his minister, count Zinzendorf, to declare, that he was  
very

very well disposed to a peace, and no longer insisted on the cession of Spain to the house of Austria. Philip's plenipotentiaries, together with those of Bavaria and Cologne, were admitted to the conferences; and now the ministers of Great Britain affected to act as mediators for the rest of the allies.

Instead of mediators, however, they soon found they must assume the more humble character of suppliants. The grand alliance was now dissolved, though the terms of peace were not fully adjusted. The French were become entire masters of the conditions, and these they were resolved to accommodate to their own conveniency. They now raised a thousand objections to the offers they had formerly made, and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the British ministry, who, rather from a regard to their own safety, than any concern for the interest of their country, exerted uncommon diligence on the occasion, the matter was compromised, greatly to the disadvantage of England\*.

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\* That the English ministers were at this time involved in a terrible dilemma, appears from the letters which they wrote to the British envoys at the French court, and the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht.

In one of these, directed to Mr. Prior, at Paris, lord Bolingbroke says: "I have exhausted my whole stock

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This circumstance was so apparent, that, even the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht refused to

of arguments in the long letter, which, by the queen's order, I have written to the duke of Shrewsbury. To you I can only add, we stand upon the brink of a precipice, but the French stand there too. Pray tell monsieur de Torcy from me, that he may get Robin and Harry hanged; but affairs will soon run back into so much confusion, that he will wish us alive again."

In another, addressed to the same gentleman, he says: "We are now at the true crisis of our disease; we die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient, by which they thought to bubble us out of the advantages which they had solemnly yielded, and all is well: otherwise, by G--d, both they and we are undone. The queen can neither delay the meeting of the parliament longer, nor speak to the houses, till we hear from you. My compliments to monsieur de Torcy. Let him know, that if they do not agree with the queen, I may, perhaps, be a refugee. If I am, I promise before-hand to behave myself better in France, than the French refugees do here. Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane. By heaven, they treat like pedlars, or, which is worse, like attorneys."

The embarrassment of the lord-treasurer is no less apparent. In a letter to the earl of Strafford, he writes in the following strain: "I felicitate your excellency on the success of your zeal, and the true love you have shewn to your queen, your country, and the repose of all Europe. The remaining danger is, lest we suffer shipwreck in sight of port. The nation here are five hundred to one for peace. The warriors are driven from

to sign the treaty, until they were furnished with a new commission ; and this they no sooner received, than they declared to the ministers of the other powers, that they and some other plenipotentiaries were ready to sign their respective treaties, on the eleventh day of April. \*

Count Zinzendorf begged the transaction might be delayed until he should be able to consult his master : and even threatened, that, if the States should sign the peace contrary to his desire, the emperor would immediately recal his troops from the Netherlands. The ministers of France agreed with those of England, whom they now considered as their firm friends, that his Imperial majesty should have time to consider whether

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from their outworks : the last retrenchment they have is delay ; and this, I must own, operates strongly. The ferment begins to work ; and it will be impossible to answer for the turn the house of commons may take, if these delays provoke them farther, &c."

These letters are, no doubt, very good specimens of the wit and spirit of the treasurer and secretary. But something more than wit and spirit, and, indeed, something very different from these qualities, is necessary in ministers of state ; viz. sagacity to discern, integrity to pursue, and resolution to secure the real interests of their country.

\* A. D. 1713.

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he would embrace the proposals; but this time was limited to the first day of June; nor would they consent to a cessation of arms during that interval.

On the day appointed, the peace with France was signed in different treaties by the plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain, Savoy, Prussia, Portugal and the States-General. Count Zinzendorf proposing to return to Vienna, the British plenipotentiaries delivered to him a writing, intitled, "offers and demands of the French king for making peace with the house of Austria and the empire." The count and the ministers of the German princes exclaimed against the insolence of France in pretending to impose terms upon them with relation to the electors of Cologne and Bavaria, and even in refusing the title of emperor to his present Imperial majesty.

The treaties of peace and commerce between Great-Britain and France being ratified by the queen, the parliament was assembled on the ninth day of April. Her majesty, in her speech to both houses, observed, that the treaty was signed, and the ratifications would in a few days be exchanged: that she hoped what she had done for the Protestant succession, and the perfect friendship subsisting between her and the  
house

house of Hanover, would convince those, who wished well to both, and desired the quiet and safety of their country, how vain all attempts were to divide them: that she left it entirely to the house of commons, to determine what force might be necessary for the security of trade by sea, and for guards and garrisons: that she desired they would make themselves safe, and she should be satisfied; since, next to the protection of the divine providence, she depended on the loyalty and affection of her people; nor wanted she any other guaranty: that she took this opportunity to recommend to their care those brave men who had exposed their lives in the service of their country, and could not be employed in time of peace: that she hoped they would concert proper measures for easing the foreign trade of the kingdom; for improving and encouraging manufactures and the fishery; for employing the hands of idle people; for suppressing the scandalous and seditious libels that were every day published; and for putting a stop to the impious practice of duelling: that she conjured them to use their utmost endeavours to calm the minds of men at home, that the arts of peace might be cultivated; and that groundless jealousies contrived by a faction, and fomented by party-rage, might not effect

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that, which their foreign enemies could not accomplish.

Addresses of thanks and congratulation were immediately presented by both houses of parliament. The ratifications of the treaty being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed on the fifth day of May with the usual ceremonies; and it was about this time, that the pretender transmitted a printed remonstrance to the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, solemnly protesting against whatever might be stipulated to his prejudice. The commons had presented a second address, entreating her majesty to communicate to the house, in due time, the treaties of peace and commerce with France; and these accordingly were now delivered by Mr. Benson, chancellor of the exchequer.

By the treaty of peace, the French king engaged to abandon the pretender, acknowledge the queen and the Protestant succession; to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson's-bay, and St. Christopher's to England; but the French were to retain Cape-Breton, and a liberty to dry fish on Newfoundland.

It was stipulated, that the emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the dutchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands: that the  
duke

duke of Savoy should enjoy Sicily with the title of king: that the elector of Bavaria should receive the same title, with the island of Sardinia, as an indemnification for his losses: that the States-General should restore Lisse and its dependencies; and that Namur, Charleroy, Luxemburg, Ypres, and Newport should be added to the other places they already possessed in Flanders: that the king of Prussia should have Upper-Gueldres in lieu of Orange and the other estates belonging to that family in Franche Comté. The king of Portugal was satisfied; and the emperor was allowed till the first day of June to consider of the choice he should think proper to embrace.

By the treaty of commerce a free trade was established, according to the tariff of 1664, excepting some commodities that were subjected to new regulations in 1669.

It was agreed that no other duties should be imposed on the productions of France imported into England, than those that were laid on the same commodities from other countries: and that commissaries should meet at London, to adjust all matters relating to commerce. With regard to the tariff with Spain it was not yet finished.

The commons having appointed a day to take into consideration the treaty of commerce,

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merce, it then evidently appeared, how well the ministry had understood and consulted the interest of the nation, or rather how shamefully they had sacrificed it to the convenience of their French friends.

By the eighth and ninth articles it was agreed, that Great-Britain and France should mutually enjoy all the privileges in trading with each other, that either granted to the most favoured nation; and that no higher customs should be exacted from the commodities of France, than what were drawn from the same productions of any other people. The balance of trade having inclined so much to the side of France, that it annually drained the kingdom of a million of money, severe duties had been imposed upon all French productions and manufactures, so as almost to amount to a total prohibition.

It was alledged, that, by the treaty between England and Portugal, the duties charged upon the wines of that country, were one third lower than those laid upon the wines of France: that should they now be reduced to an equality, the difference of freight was so great, that French wines would be found much cheaper than those of Portugal; and as they were more agreeable to the taste of the nation in general,  
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there would be no demand for the Portuguese wines in England: that, should this be the case, the English would lose their trade with Portugal, the most advantageous of any traffic which they now carried on; for, besides the great consumption of their manufactures, it brought into the kingdom the yearly sum of six hundred thousand pounds in gold.

Some of the court dependents having endeavoured to prove that a free trade with France had once been beneficial to the nation, Mr. Nathaniel Gould, formerly governor of the bank, affirmed, that the allegation was absolutely false; a free trade with France had never been advantageous to the kingdom: that, nevertheless, it would be infinitely less so at present than ever it had been in any former period: that since the Revolution, the state of commerce was entirely altered: that as France had encouraged woollen manufactures, and prepared at home several commodities, which they formerly drew from England; so the English had learned to make silk stuffs, paper, and all manner of toys formerly imported from France; by which means about three hundred thousand artificers were employed, and a vast sum annually saved to the nation: but these people would now be reduced to beggary, and that money again lost to the kingdom,

dom; should French commodities, of the same kind, be imported, under ordinary duties, because labour was much cheaper in France than in England, consequently the British manufactures would be underfold and ruined.

He added, that the loss of the silk manufacture, would be attended with another disadvantage. Great quantities of woollen cloths were vended in Italy and Turkey, in exchange for the raw silk, which the English merchants bought up in those countries; and, should the silk manufacture at home be lost, these markets for British commodities would fail of course.

It was farther observed, that if the French had gained as many victories over the English, as the English had obtained over the French, the treaty of commerce could not have been established upon a worse footing for England; and that, if the articles had been settled before the British troops separated from those of the confederates, the French king would not have presumed to insist upon such conditions, but would have been glad to comply with such terms as the English should have prescribed.

Against these solid and weighty arguments the Tories were unable to advance any thing but a few frivolous shifts and evasions. Sir  
William

William Wyndham in particular thought proper to reflect on the late ministry, for having neglected, as he said, the opportunity of making a good peace, when it was in their power ; though it is certain the nation never had it more in their power to make a good peace than at the very time when the negociation was begun. He pretended, that the Portuguese would always have occasion for the woollen manufactures and the corn of England ; not considering, that though they might be able to purchase these commodities cheaper in England, than in any other country, yet if they found them detrimental to their trade, they might lay them under a strict prohibition.

The treaty, however, was concluded by a Tory ministry ; and therefore the commons were determined to support it at all events. Accordingly it was resolved by a great majority, that a bill should be brought in to make good the contested articles. The Portuguese minister, alarmed at this resolution, presented a memorial, declaring, that, should the duties on French wines be reduced to a level with those that were laid on the wines of Portugal, his master would renew the prohibition of the woollen manufactures, and other products of Great-Britain. The whole trading part of the nation

exclaimed against the treaty of commerce, which was universally allowed by all who understood the subject, to be the most bungling piece of politics that ever was concerted.

The ministry, apprehensive that the eyes of the public might begin to be opened, resolved, if possible, to continue that delusion, in which they had hitherto held the bulk of the people; and with this view employed a set of hireling scribblers to vindicate the treaty in a periodical paper, intitled, *The Mercator*; but the attempts of these mercenaries were effectually defeated by a society of merchants, who, in another weekly paper, called, *The British Merchant*, exposed the futility of their arguments, and demonstrated the pernicious tendency of the treaty, to the entire conviction of all men of sense.

The commons, having granted an aid of two shillings in the pound, proceeded to renew the duty on malt for another year, and extended this tax over the whole island, notwithstanding the pressing remonstrances of the Scottish members, who endeavoured to secure their own country, and represented it as a burden which Scotland could not bear. They insisted upon an article of the Union, importing, that no duty should be imposed on the malt of Scotland during the war, which they affirmed was not yet finished, in-  
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asmuch as the peace had not been proclaimed: and though the peace was perhaps concluded, and the proclamation every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws, that odious matters ought to be strictly understood, whereas matters of favour should be more liberally interpreted: besides it appeared, from the very words of the act, that this duty was to be employed in defraying the debts contracted during the war; from which the Scots, by an express article of the union, were totally exempted.

During the adjournment of parliament, on account of the Whitsuntide holidays, the Scots, laying aside all party-distinctions, met and deliberated on this important subject. They deputed the duke of Argyle, the earl of Mar, Mr. Lockart, and Mr. Cockburn, to lay their grievances before the queen. They represented, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some articles of the union; and that the imposition of such an unsupportable burden as the malt tax, would probably provoke them to such a degree as to prompt them to declare the union dissolved. To this unexpected remonstrance the queen replied, that she wished they might not have cause to repent of such a precipitate resolu-

sion, but she would endeavour to make all things easy.

The Scots, finding they had little to expect from her majesty's indulgence, resolved to prefer their complaints to the house of peers. Accordingly on the first day of June, the earl of Findlater represented to their lordships, that the Scottish nation was aggrieved in many instances: that they were deprived of a privy-council; subjected to the English laws in cases of treason: that their nobles were rendered incapable of being created British peers; and that now they were oppressed with the unsupportable burden of a malt tax, when they had reason to hope they should enjoy the benefit of peace. He therefore moved, that, since the union had not been found to be attended with those good effects, which it was expected to produce, leave might be given to bring in a bill for dissolving that treaty, securing the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover, maintaining the queen's prerogative through the whole island, and preserving an entire amity and good correspondence between the two kingdoms.

The motion was opposed by the lord North and Grey, who affirmed that the complaints of the Scots were groundless: that the dissolution of the union was impracticable: and

and he made some sarcastic reflections on the poverty of that nation. The earl of Eglington acknowledged the Scots were poor, and therefore unable to pay the malt-tax. The earl of Hay, among other judicious remarks upon the union, observed, that, when the treaty was made, the Scots concluded, that the parliament of Great-Britain would never load them with any imposition that they had reason to believe grievous.

The earl of Peterborough said, that he had often heard the union compared to a marriage; and, according to that notion, since it was made, it could not be dissolved by any power upon earth: that, though England, who must be supposed the husband, might, in some instances, prove unkind to the lady, she ought not immediately to sue for a divorce; the rather because she had very much mended her fortune by the match. Hay replied, that marriage was an ordinance of God, and the union, no more than a political contract. The other affirmed, that it could not have been more solemn, unless, like the ten commandments, it had come from Heaven. He inveighed against the Scots as a people that would never be satisfied; that would have all the advantages resulting from the union, but would pay nothing by their good will, al-

though they had received more money from England than the amount of all their estates.

To these animadversions the duke of Argyll made a very sharp reply. "I have been reflected on by some people," said he, "as if I was disgusted, and had changed sides; but I despise their persons, as much as I undervalue their judgements." He owned he had a great share in making the union with a view to secure the Protestant succession, but he was satisfied that end might be as effectually answered, if the union was dissolved; and if this step should not be taken, he did not expect long to have either property left in Scotland or liberty in England.

He urged, that the malt-tax in Scotland was like taxing land by the acre throughout England, in proportion to the value of land about London, where an acre was worth five pounds a year, whereas in the remote counties it would not produce so many shillings. In like manner the English malt was valued at four times the price of that, which was made in Scotland; so that, if the tax was imposed upon that country, it must be levied by a regiment of dragoons.

Some other Scottish peers observed, that the intention of the union was to promote a spirit

spirit of harmony and concord between the two nations; but so far had it been from answering that purpose, that it had inflamed their animosities to a higher degree than ever: and they were therefore of opinion, that, if the union were dissolved, the two nations would live upon a more friendly and social footing.

The lord-treasurer said, that the union having been made by two distinct parliaments of both kingdoms, he did not see how it could be dissolved, as the two nations were now in different circumstances, and the power that made it no longer in being; since, according to his apprehension, nothing could render it void, but the same authority, by which it was originally established.

He was answered by the earl of Nottingham, who represented the advantages of the union, if the views, with which it was made, had been steadily pursued. He added, that though the two nations were in other circumstances than when the union was made, yet the same power, which was vested in the two parliaments, when they were separate and distinct, was still lodged in them, now they were consolidated; and therefore, if they had had power to make, they had certainly power to dissolve the union: that that he knew not any thing that was above

the power of parliament, except the destroying the constitution of the kingdom, which he frankly acknowledged, they could not attempt: that the inconveniences, which had attended the union, could not be foreseen, till the experiment was made: and since the Scots, who were the best judges of their own affairs, found, that it did not answer the ends proposed, he thought they ought to be gratified in their present request.

The lord-treasurer, resuming the discourse, alledged, that though the malt-tax were imposed, it might be afterwards remitted by the crown. The earl of Sunderland expressed his surprize at hearing that noble lord broach a doctrine, which tended to establish a despotic dispensing power, and arbitrary government. Oxford replied, that his family had never been famous, as some others had been, for promoting and advising arbitrary measures.

Sunderland, considering this expression as a reflection thrown out upon the memory of his father, not only took occasion to vindicate his conduct, but added, that, in those days, the other lord's family was hardly known. After a violent debate, the motion for the bill was rejected by a small majority, and the malt-bill afterwards passed with great difficulty.

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It is remarkable, that this motion for introducing a bill to dissolve the Union, was supported by the Whigs, and opposed by the Tories. This requires a little explanation. The violent Tories, or Jacobites, for these terms were certainly synonymous, had always considered the Union as the chief bar to the restoration of the abdicated family; and they therefore hoped, that, if that treaty could, by any means, be dissolved, the pretender might, one day, ascend the throne of Great-Britain. With this view, they had constantly endeavoured to exasperate the Scots to such a degree, as might prompt them to dissolve the Union by open force. At present, however, when they had it in their power to dissolve it in a legal manner, they were ashamed and afraid to own their intention, conscious, that such a declaration would have been attended with the immediate loss of their authority; for the queen, surely, with all her popularity, would not have dared to continue a ministry, that harboured designs so prejudicial to the kingdom.

The Whigs, on the other side, though they voted for the introduction of the bill in order to provoke the Scots against the present ministry, and shew the natural tendency of their measures, would certainly have opposed its being passed into a law; well know-

knowing, that the dissolution of the Union would be attended with the most fatal consequences.

A perpetual interference of interests would have prevailed between the two nations: the Scots might have been tempted, by some ill usage, real or imagináry, to renounce their allegiance to the king of England: they might have recalled the pretender into Scotland; and, had he once got footing in that country, he had but too many friends in the southern parts of the island to support him, and, perhaps to enable him to destroy the liberties, civil and religious, of both kingdoms: or, had the Scots, as they probably were, been as averse as their English brethren to a Popish prince; yet, fired with the love of independency, and disdain- ing be controuled by any other nation, they might have exalted some of their own nobility to their throne; and thus the island would have been thrown back into the same confused and distracted condition, in which, before the accession of the Stuart family to the crown of England, it had always been involved.

The Tories, however, though they had failed in their main purpose, had yet succeeded in one part of their project. Though they had not been able to provoke the Scots

to dissolve the Union by force of arms, yet, by the introduction of the malt-tax into Scotland, they had excited such a spirit of discontent among the people, as could not, for a long time, be allayed; and, perhaps it may be safely affirmed, that the ill-humour occasioned by this measure, which, however seemingly reasonable, was certainly very severe, was one chief cause of all the rebellions which followed in that kingdom.

The commons having brought in a bill to render the treaty of commerce effectual, such a number of petitions were presented against it, and so many solid and weighty arguments advanced by the merchants, who were examined on the subject, that even a great number of the Tory members, sensible of the bad consequences it would produce to trade, voted against the court on this occasion; so that the bill was rejected by a majority of nine voices.

The ministry, considering that the rejecting this bill was a direct condemnation of the treaty, and might possibly expose them to future inquiries, resolved, if possible, to procure a palliative from the commons. Accordingly they found means to persuade the house to present an address, thanking her majesty for the great care she had taken of the security and honour of her kingdoms  
in

in the treaty of commerce; as also for her having laid so good a foundation for the interest of her people in trade.

They likewise appointed commissioners to treat with those of France, for adjusting such matters as should be necessary to be settled on the subject of commerce, that the treaty might be explained and perfected, for the good and welfare of her people. The queen interpreted this address into a full approbation of the treaties of peace and commerce, and accordingly thanked them in the warmest terms of satisfaction and acknowledgment.

The public were surprized at such an answer, especially as the commons, by rejecting the bill for rendering the treaty of commerce effectual, had plainly shewn, that they did not approve it, and had even insinuated as much in their address, where they said, that the treaty required to be explained and perfected. But it was pleasantly said, that the queen answered them, not according to what they meant, but according to what she imagined ought to have been their meaning.

The commons having afterwards desired to know what equivalent should be given for the demolition of Dunkirk, the queen told them, that the equivalent was already in  
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the hands of the French king. What that was, however, she did not think proper to explain; so that the commons were left as much in the dark as ever. Nevertheless, as they were not disposed to find fault with any thing that came from the court, they resolved to acquiesce in the reply.

Then they besought her majesty, that she would not evacuate the towns in Flanders, which were in her possession, until those, who were entitled to the sovereignty of the Spanish Netherlands, should agree to such articles for regulating trade, as might place the subjects of Great-Britain upon an equal footing with those of other nations. The queen made a favourable answer to all their addresses. Such were the steps taken by the parliament during this session, in relation to the famous treaty of Utrecht, which has generally been considered as one chief source of most of the troubles in Europe.

On twenty-fifth day of June, the queen sent a message to the commons, importing, that the civil list was burdened with some debts incurred by several articles of extraordinary expence: and that she hoped they would empower her to raise such a sum upon the funds allotted for this provision, as would be sufficient to discharge the incumbrances, which amounted to five hundred thousand

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thousand pounds. A bill was immediately prepared for raising this sum on the civil list revenue; but, as it was known that the funds established for that purpose, produced annually above eight hundred thousand pounds, and, as the queen lived with great œconomy, it was generally supposed, that she had no debts, and that the present sum was intended for securing to the ministry the next elections. Strong opposition was therefore made to the bill, which, nevertheless, passed both houses by a considerable majority.

Both lords and commons addressed the queen, concerning the chevalier de St. George, who had retired into Lorrain. They desired, that she would press the duke of that name, and all princes and states in amity with her, to exclude, from their dominions, the pretender to the imperial crown of Great-Britain.

On the sixteenth day of July, her majesty closed the session with a speech, which was extremely exceptionable in many particulars. She seemed to condemn the conduct of the parliament, in not having rendered the treaty of commerce effectual; as if she and her ministry had been better judges of mercantile affairs, than the two houses. and all the trading part of the nation. She included

all those, who disapproved of the peace, and opposed the measures of the court, under the general denomination of ill-designing or deluded persons. She talked, with greater asperity than suited her sex or her dignity, of the spirit of faction that prevailed in the kingdom. And she spoke not a single word either of the pretender or the Protestant succession.

The commons had now an opportunity of giving a fresh proof of their principles and prejudices. The time of Sacheverel's suspension being expired, they desired him to preach before them, and thanked him heartily for his excellent sermon. This, however, was no more than they were bound to do, in common gratitude. Most of them had owed their seats to the doctor's influence; and, to hear one of his harangues was the least compliment they could pay. The queen gave him a more substantial proof of her favour; she promoted him to the rich benefice of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

The duke d'Aumont, the French ambassador, was become extremely odious to the nation, as well on account of his attachment to the cause of the pretender, as because he had permitted some of his domestics to sell French commodities, which they had imported under his protection; and, as the

populace are seldom very delicate in their resentments, he was exposed to many insults and indignities, which could not fail to give him uneasiness. He was constantly saluted with the cry of, "No Papist, no pretender." Scurrilous ballads were published against him both in the English and French languages. He received divers anonymous letters, containing threats of setting fire to his house, which was accordingly burned to the ground, though whether by design or accident, could never be discovered.

The unpopularity, however, of the ambassador, did not hinder the French ministry from trying their strength at the English court. The magistracy of Dunkirk presented a memorial to the queen, imploring her to spare the port and harbour of that town, and representing, that they might become extremely useful, and even absolutely necessary for the execution of her own political views. What these political views were, the French memorialists, and, perhaps, the English ministry, were the best judges.

The memorial was published, and the arguments it contained were answered and refuted, by Addison, Steele, and Maynwaring. Commissioners were sent to see the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. They were accordingly razed to the ground, the harbour

bour was filled up ; and the duke D'Aumont set out for Paris on the seventh day of November. The queen, by her instances at the court of Versailles, had procured the enlargement of one hundred and thirty-six protestants from the gallies ; but, hearing that one hundred and eighty-five more were detained on the same account, she made such application to the French ministry, that they too were released. Then she appointed general Ross her envoy-extraordinary to the king of France.

The duke of Shrewsbury, being constituted lord-lieutenant of Ireland, convoked the parliament of that kingdom, on the twenty-fifth day of November. The commons, having made choice of Allan Broderick for their speaker, ordered a bill to be brought in to attain the pretender and all his adherents. They prosecuted Edward Lloyd, for publishing a book, entitled, *Memoirs of the chevalier de St. George* : and they drew up an address to the queen, to remove, from the chancellorship, Sir Constantine Phipps, who had countenanced the Tories of that kingdom.

The lords, however, resolved, that chancellor Phipps had, in his several stations, acquitted himself with honour and integrity. The two houses of convocation presented an

address to the same purpose. They likewise complained of Mr. Molesworth, for having insulted them, by saying when they went to the castle of Dublin, "they that having turned the world upside down are come hither also;" and he was removed from the privy council. The duke of Shrewsbury, finding that the commons would not comply with the measures of the court, thought proper to prorogue the parliament. He then obtained leave to return to England, leaving chancellor Phipps, with the archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, justices of the kingdom.

The parliament of England had been dissolved; and the elections were managed in such a manner, as to return a majority of Tory-members: but the meeting of the new parliament was delayed by repeated prorogations to the tenth day of December; a delay partly owing to the queen's ill health; partly to the contests that prevailed among her ministers.

Oxford and Bolingbroke were competitors for power, and rivals in reputation for ability. The treasurer's parts were esteemed the more solid; the secretary's more shining: but both ministers were active and ambitious. The first bent upon maintaining the chief place in the administration, which he had enjoyed since the introduction of the Tories: the other

other disdained to act in a subordinate capacity to a man, whom, he thought, he equalled in influence and excelled in genius. They began to form separate cabals, and espouse different interests.

Bolingbroke found means to insinuate himself into the confidence of lady Masham, to whom Oxford had given some cause of disgust. By the intrigues of this favourite he daily gained ground in the good opinion of his sovereign, while the treasurer lost it in the same proportion. Thus she, who had been the worthy author of his advancement, was now used as the instrument of his disgrace. The queen was extremely uneasy at these dissensions among the ministers, whom she employed her utmost endeavours to reconcile ; but their secret animosity continued to rankle under an exterior accommodation. Bolingbroke was powerfully supported by Sir Simon Harcourt the chancellor, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. secretary Bromely. Oxford perceived the decline of his own influence, and began to think of retirement. The public was apprized of this approaching revolution by the canal of the Examiner, a periodical paper, written by Dr. Swift, who, in one of his numbers published about this, took occasion to lament the instability

bility of ministerial power, especially in a government formed like that of England.

Mean while, the earl of Peterborough was appointed ambassador to the king of Sicily ; and set out on his journey for Turin. The queen retired to Windsor, where she was seized with a dangerous inflammatory fever. The Jacobites were filled with the most sanguine hopes : the public funds were considerably affected : a great run was made upon the bank, the directors of which were struck with consternation ; and this was still further encreased by the report of an armament equipped in the ports of France. They sent four of their members to represent to the treasurer the danger that threatened the public credit, and to desire his assistance in this critical emergence.

The queen being informed of this circumstance, signed a letter to Sir Samuel Stanier, lord-mayor of London, importing, that, though an aguish indisposition, succeeded by a fit of the gout, had detained her longer at Windsor than she intended ; yet, now that she was in a good measure recovered, she would return to the place of her usual residence, and open the parliament on the sixteenth day of February. This intimation, together with certain intelligence that the report of the armament was entirely groundless, and the pre-

pretender still in Lorrain, helped to allay the ferment of the nation, which had been raised to a dangerous heighth.

The Jacobites were so elated on this occasion, that they employed one Bedford a non-juring clergyman to write a large volume, asserting the hereditary rights of the crown of England, in order to pave the way for the pretender's accession. To prevent the effects which this book might produce, Mr. Richard Steele published a performance, intituled the Crisis, in defence of the Revolution and the Protestant establishment, and enlarging upon the danger of a Popish successor. At the same time the author of the former treatise was apprehended, tried, convicted and punished; though the most ignominious part of his sentence, that of being carried to the courts of Westminster-hall, with a paper on his breast denoting his offence, was remitted by the order of the ministry.

While Great-Britain was distracted by these intestine commotions, the emperor, rejecting the proposals of France, resolved to maintain war at his own expence; but the enemy having reduced the two important fortresses of Landau and Friburg, and threatened to penetrate into the heart of the empire, he thought proper to hearken to overtures of peace

peace that were made by the electors of Cologne and Palatine. Conferences were immediately opened at the castle of Al-Rastadt, between prince Eugene and the mareschal de Villars; and all the articles being speedily adjusted, the treaty was signed on the fourth day of March.

By this accommodation the French king ceded to the emperor Old Brisac, with all its dependencies, Friburg, the forts in the Brisgau and Black Forest, together with fort Kehl. He engaged to demolish the fortifications opposite to Hunningen, the fort of Sellingen, and all between that and fort Louis. The town and fortress of Landau were yeilded to the king of France, who acknowledged the elector of Hanover. The electors of Bavaria and Cologne were restored to all their dignities and dominions. The emperor was put in immediate possession of the Spanish Netherlands; and the king of Prussia was permitted to retain the high quarter of Gueldres. In conclusion, the contracting parties agreed, that a congress should be held in the month of May at Baden in Switzerland, for terminating all differences; and prince Eugene and mareschal de Villars were declared their first plenipotentiaries.

The

The ratifications of the treaty between Great-Britain and Spain being exchanged, the peace was proclaimed in London on the first day of March.\* By this agreement the Kingdoms of France and Spain were separated for ever. Philip acknowledged the Protestant succession, and renounced the pretender. He agreed to a renewal of the treaty of navigation and commerce concluded in 1667. He granted an exclusive privilege to the English for furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with Negroes, according to the *Asiento* contract. He ceded Gibraltar to the English, as well as the island of Minorca, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy their estates and religion. He engaged to grant a full pardon to the Catalonians, together with the possession of all their estates, honours, and privileges: and to yield the kingdom of Sicily to the duke of Savoy, though that island was to revert to the crown of Spain, failing heirs of the duke's body.

The new parliament had been opened by commission in February, and Sir Thomas Hanmer was chosen speaker of the house of commons. On the second day of March the queen being carried in a sedan to the house of lords, made a speech to both houses, importing, that she had obtained  
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\* A. D. 1714.

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an honourable and advantageous peace for her own people and for the greatest part of her allies ; and she hoped her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe : that some persons had been so malicious as to insinuate, that the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover was in danger under her government ; but those, who endeavoured to distract the minds of men with imaginary dangers, could only mean to disturb the public tranquillity ; that, after all she had done to secure the religion and liberties of her people, and to transmit them safe to posterity, she could not mention such proceedings without some degree of warmth ; and she hoped her parliament would agree with her that attempts to weaken her authority, or render the possession of the crown uneasy to her, could never be proper means to strengthen the Protestant succession.

It is remarkable, that, though the queen expressed her hope that her interposition might prove effectual to complete the settlement of Europe, the emperor, who was at this very time engaged in a treaty with France, would neither admit her ambassadors to the conferences, nor even acquaint her with the substance of the negotiation. But this and some other inconsistencies.

which

which the speech contained, were entirely overlooked by the parliament. The lords, the commons, and the convocation, presented affectionate addresses to her majesty, who returned most gracious answers.

The earl of Wharton complained, in the house of lords, of a libel, intituled, "The public spirit of the Whigs set forth in their generous encouragement of the author of the Crisis." This pamphlet, which was imputed to lord Bolingbroke and Swift, was written in the arch and ludicrous stile of the Tale of a Tub. After some severe reflections on Mr. Steele, the earl of Nottingham, and the subscribers to the Crisis, it attacked, with great poignancy of satire, the Union, the Scottish nation, and the duke of Argyle in particular, who had lately deserted the ministry.

The earl of Wharton's complaint being favourably received, the lord treasurer disclaimed all knowledge of the author, and readily concurred in an order for taking into custody John Morphew, the publisher, and John Barber, printer of the Gazette, from whose house the copies were brought to Morphew. The earl of Wharton said it highly concerned the honour of that august assembly to find out the villain, who was the author of that false and scandalous libel,  
that

that justice might be done to the Scottish nation. He moved, that Barber and his servants might be examined ; but, next day, the earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, declared, that, in consequence of her majesty's order, he had directed John Barber to be prosecuted.

Notwithstanding this shameful interposition, which was intended to screen the offenders, the lords presented an address, beseeching her majesty to issue out her royal proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should discover the author of the libel, which they conceived to be false, malicious, and factious, highly dishonourable and scandalous to her majesty's subjects of Scotland, most injurious to her majesty, and tending to the ruin of the constitution. In compliance with their request, a reward of three hundred pounds was offered ; but Swift, the reputed author, remained safe from all detection,

The publication of this piece was judged a very impolitic step in the ministry, as the majority they possessed in the upper house depended chiefly on the Scottish peers, whom, by this step, they ran a manifest risk of losing ; but the truth is, such was their aversion to the Union, which they  
justly

justly considered as the grand bulwark of the Protestant succession, that they would willingly have sacrificed their own power, could they, by any means, have provoked the Scots to rise in arms and dissolve it. The commons having granted the supplies, ordered a bill to be prepared for securing the freedom of parliaments, by limiting the number of officers in the house of commons; and it passed through both houses with very little opposition.

Notwithstanding the care and diligence exerted by the Tories in the late elections, many Whigs had been returned as members: but of these none was so obnoxious to the ministry as Mr. Steele, who, in several public writings, had arraigned the late measures with great force of argument and warmth of declamation.

It was therefore resolved by the court dependants to rid the house of such a troublesome member. Accordingly on the eleventh day of March, Mr. Hungerford, a noted lawyer, complained of several scandalous papers lately published under the name of Richard Steele, Esquire, a member of the house; particularly two remarkable pamphlets, the one entitled, *The Crisis*; the other, *The Englishman*. He was seconded by Mr. Foley, a relation of the treas-

ier's, who alledged, that, unless means were found to restrain the licentiousness of the press, and protect the servants of the government from malicious and scandalous libels, those, who by their abilities were best qualified to serve their queen and country, would be afraid to accept of public employments, Sir William Wyndham affirmed, that some of Mr. Steele's writings contained insolent and injurious reflections on the queen herself, and were dictated by the spirit of rebellion.

Steele was ordered to attend in his place ; several paragraphs of his works were read ; and he begged he might be allowed a week's time to prepare for his defence. Auditor Harley having excepted to so long a delay, and moved for resuming the affair on the Monday following, Steele, in order to ridicule his two principal prosecutors, Foley and Harley, who were known to be rigid Presbyterians, though at present they sided with the high-church party, assumed their sanctified air, and said, that he owned, with sorrow and contrition of heart, that he was a very great sinner ; and hoped the member, who spoke last, and who was justly renowned for his exemplary piety and devotion, would not be accessary to the accumulating the number of his transgressions, by  
obliging

obliging him to break the sabbath of the Lord, by perusing such profane writings as might be necessary for his justification.

This speech, delivered in a canting tone, having put the house in a good humour, Harley's motion was rejected, and Steele allowed the time he demanded. On the day appointed for his trial, he frankly acknowledged the writings, and answered the objections that were made to them with equal temper, eloquence, and precision. He was assisted by Mr. Addison, general Stanhope, Mr. Walpole, lord Finch, and others.

Mr. Walpole observed, that this extraordinary and violent persecution struck at the liberties of the people in general, and of the members of parliament in particular; that, in his opinion, every expression in Mr. Steele's writings might be easily justified: and that he hoped the house would not sacrifice one of their members to the rage and resentment of the ministry, for no other crime, than his attempting to expose their notorious mismanagements, and, like a good patriot, warning his countrymen of the imminent danger with which the nation, and even her majesty's sacred person, were threatened by the visible encouragement that was given to the friends of the pretender.

" If a Papist," continued he, " nay an  
 " Irish Papist \*, who for many years has  
 " been servant to the late king. James and  
 " the pretender ; one, who has borne arms  
 " against her majesty in France and Spain ;  
 " one, who is strongly suspected of having  
 " imbrued his hands in the blood of the  
 " late duke of Medina-Celi and the mar-  
 " quis of Leganez : if such a man be not  
 " only permitted to come into England,  
 " but to appear at court in the presence-  
 " chamber ; if he be caressed by the mi-  
 " nisters ; nay, I speak it with horror, if  
 " he be admitted to a private audience of  
 " her majesty in her own closet ; will not  
 " every good subject think her majesty's  
 " person in danger ? and is it a crime in  
 " Mr. Steele to express his apprehensions  
 " of that danger ?"

With regard to that passage in the Crisis,  
 where the author says, " that a late trea-  
 " sonable book in defence of hereditary  
 " right had published the will of king Hen-  
 " ry the eighth, which seemed to be in-  
 " tended as a pattern for some similar occa-  
 " sion ;" and that other passage, where he de-  
 " sires those, " who act under the present set-  
 " tlement, and yet contend for an absolute  
 " hereditary right, to quiet themselves with  
 " the arguments they have borrowed from  
 " Popery ;

\* Sir Patrick Lawless.

“Popery :” Mr. Walpole said, it could not be denied, that the lord-treasurer was a patron of learned men, for whose use and emolument he had lately fitted up a fine library : and that it evidently appeared the author of the book intitled, *The hereditary right of the crown of England asserted*, had free access to that library, and had drawn very material passages from its valuable manuscripts : that the lord-treasurer’s care to supply that author with materials for his work went still farther, since his lordship had employed a man to search among old musty papers for the will and testament, of Henry the eighth, which was accordingly inserted at length in the appendix to the book : that he appealed to Mr. Lowndes, a member of the house, and secretary to the treasury, whether he had not paid, by the lord-treasurer’s order, twelve or fourteen pounds to the person who found that testament : and that if Mr. Lowndes should deny it, he had sufficient evidence to make good his assertion.

Lowndes seemed tacitly to acknowledge the fact, and only said, that the will was not so scarce a piece, as it was to be seen in Westminster-Abbey ; where, however, it had been deposited since its late discovery. It is really surprising that after such a conduct

the treasurer could pretend to any regard for the Protestant succession.

Lord Finch undertook to vindicate Mr. Steele with relation to the most tender part of the charge against him, namely, that expression in the close of the Englishman, where he said, "that he wished his electoral highness of Hanover would be so grateful as to signify to all the world the good understanding he had with the court of England, in as plain terms as her majesty was pleased to declare she had with that house on her part."

He observed, that supposing there were in this expression some injurious insinuations, yet these could not, without extreme injustice, be applied to the queen, but only to her ministry: that no body doubted the good understanding between her majesty and the house of Hanover; but it was notorious, that the ministry had no regard to that illustrious house: that, to pass over other instances, he would only remind them of the slight put upon baron Bothmar's memorial, which the queen perhaps would never have seen, had not the dutchess of Dorset shewn it her in the public papers: that with regard to Mr. Steele's reflections on the peace, they were perfectly consonant to his own sentiments: they might adorn it  
with

with as many fine epithets as they pleased ; but epithets did not change the nature of things : they might, call it an honourable peace ; but he was sure it was accounted a scandalous peace in Holland, Germany, Portugal, and in every nation in Europe, except in France and Spain : they might call it an advantageous peace ; but all the trading part of the nation found it otherwise.

The same arguments were enforced by the lords Lumley and Hinchinbroke, Sir James Stuart, Mr. Baillie, and several other members ; but the commons were not met to hear arguments, but only to determine the question by the weight of interest. Accordingly it was carried by a considerable majority that the two pamphlets, intitled, *The Englishman*, and *The Crisis*, written by Richard Steele, Esquire, were scandalous and seditious libels ; and that, for this offence, he should be expelled the house.

The lords, taking into consideration the state of the nation, agreed to address, desiring her majesty to acquaint them with the steps that had been taken for removing the pretender from the dominions of the duke of Lorrain : that she would communicate to them an account of the negotiations of  
peace ;

peace; an account of the instances which had been made in favour of the Catalonians; and an account of the monies granted by parliament since the year 1710, to carry on the war in Spain and Portugal.

They afterwards resolved upon other addresses, intreating the queen to lay before them the debts and state of the navy; the particular writs of *noli prosequi* granted since her accession to the throne; and a list of such persons, as, notwithstanding sentences of outlawry or attainder, had obtained licences to return into Great Britain, or other her majesty's dominions since the Revolution. Having voted an address to the queen, in favour of the distressed Catalonians, the house adjourned itself to the eighth day of March.

The ministry, conscious of their own unpopularity, and of the strong suspicions that were entertained of their designs in favour of the pretender, resolved, if possible, to remove those jealousies, though by a very strange expedient. They prevailed upon the French ambassador at the Hague to declare publickly in his master's name, that he had no intention to support the interest of the pretender; and this declaration they thought proper to insert in one of the English papers.

This assurance, however, served rather to strengthen than allay the apprehensions of  
the

the public ; and these were still farther increased by the subsequent conduct of the ministry. They dismissed from all places, civil and military, those who were attached to the Protestant succession, and advanced, in their stead, such as were devoted to the cause of the pretender. Great numbers of officers were obliged to sell their commissions in the army, the command of which was now entrusted to those, who would implicitly obey the orders of the ministry.

Had the Whigs remained passive on such an occasion, they might justly have been charged with negligence or stupidity. They took care to engage privately all those discarded officers, who were known to be zealous for the protestant succession. They concerted measures with the leading men in London, for securing the city, and furnishing supplies of money. They maintained a correspondence with the duke of Marlborough, who, in case of necessity, would easily have prepared the States-General for performing their engagements as guarantees of the succession. And they actually formed a plan for seizing the Tower, upon the first appearance of danger, and confining in it such persons as were justly suspected of favouring the pretender.

To

To these vigorous and resolute measures it is probably owing, that the ministry never ventured to carry their designs into execution, conscious that such an attempt would hardly have been attended with any other consequence, than that of effecting their own ruin; and as they thought proper to decline the experiment, they afterwards artfully converted their want of power into an argument of their want of inclination.

The parliament meeting according to adjournment, the house of lords engaged in warm disputes about the Catalonians, the pretender, and the danger that threatened the Protestant succession. With regard to the Catalonians, they represented, that Great-Britain had prevailed upon them to declare for the house of Austria, with promise of support; and that these engagements ought to have been made good.

Lord Bolingbroke affirmed, that the queen had used her utmost endeavours in their favour; but that, after all, her engagements with them subsisted no longer, than while king Charles resided in Spain. They agreed, however, to an address, acknowledging her majesty's endeavours in favour of the Catalonians, and intreating her to continue her interposition in their behalf.

The

The earl of Sunderland declared, that, notwithstanding the application of both houses, during the last session of parliament, concerning the pretender's being removed from Lorrain, he was informed by baron Fokner, the duke's minister, that no instances had yet been made to his master, for that purpose. Lord Bolingbroke replied, that he himself had made those instances, in the queen's name, to that very minister, before his departure from England.

The earl of Wharton, having expatiated on the ill-conduct of the ministry, proposed a question, Whether the protestant succession was in danger under the present administration? A warm debate ensued, in which the earl of Anglesey, and the archbishop of York, with the whole bench of prelates, except three, joined in opposition to the court.

Anglesey alledged, that though he had always believed the succession to be in danger on the side of France, he had yet thought it entirely secure on that of the ministry: but that, after having heard the many weighty and solid arguments which had been advanced against the conduct of the ministers, and no answer returned either by them or their friends, he could not but acknowledge the succession to be in danger under such an administration. He then ended.

deavoured to vindicate himself with regard to the part he had acted in some late transactions. He owned he had given his consent to the cessation of arms, for which he took shame to himself, asking pardon of God, his country, and his conscience. He affirmed, however, that this fault he did not commit, till that noble lord (pointing to the lord treasurer) had asserted in council, that the peace would be glorious and advantageous both to her majesty and her allies. He added, that the honour of his sovereign, and the good of his country, were the rule of his actions; but that, without respect of persons, should he find himself imposed upon, he durst pursue an evil minister from the queen's closet to the Tower, and from the Tower to the scaffold.

The lord-treasurer, at whom this was levelled, said, that the peace was as glorious and advantageous as could be expected, considering the necessity of affairs, and the obstructions the queen's ministers met with both at home and abroad. It was answered, that no ministers ever had it in their power to make so honourable and advantageous a peace, as the queen's ministers had, at the opening of the conferences.

In confirmation of this truth the duke of Argyle observed, that he had lately crossed the

the kingdom of France, both in his way to, and in his return from Minorca : that it was indeed one of the finest countries in the universe ; but that there were marks of a general desolation in all the places through which he passed : that he had rid forty miles together without meeting a man fit to carry arms : that the rest of the people were in the utmost misery and want ; and therefore he could not conceive, what necessity there was to conclude a peace so precipitately with a prince, whose dominions were almost entirely exhausted of men, money and provisions : that, with respect to the question now under debate, he firmly believed the Protestant succession to be in danger from the present ministers : that he knew, and, were it necessary, could prove, that the lord-treasurer had yearly remitted four thousand pounds to the highland clans of Scotland, who were known to be attached to the cause of the pretender : that the new-modelling of the army, the practice of disbanding some regiments out of their turn, and removing a great number of officers on account of affection to the house of Hanover, were clear indications of the designs of the ministry : that it was a disgrace to the nation, to see men, who had never looked an enemy

in the face, advanced to the posts of several brave officers, who, after they had often exposed their lives for their country, were now starving in prison, on account of their pay's being detained.

The lord-treasurer laying his hand upon his breast, said, he had, on so many occasions, given such signal proofs of his affection to the Protestant succession, that he was sure no member of that august assembly did call it in question. He owned he had, for two or three years, remitted between three and four thousand pounds to the highland clans; and he hoped the house would give him an opportunity to clear his conduct in that particular: and with regard to the reduced officers, he declared, he had given orders for their being immediately paid. Notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the opposition, and the strong presumptions which appeared against the ministry, the succession was voted out of danger, though only by a majority of twelve voices; the precise number of peers that had been made, in order to serve the purposes of the court.

Lord Hallifax proposed an address to the queen, that she would renew her instances for the speedy removing the pretender out of Lorrain; and that she would, in conjunction with

with, the States-General, and other such princes as she should think proper, enter into a guaranty of the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover. The earl of Wharton moved, that, in the address, her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person, who should apprehend the pretender, dead or alive. He was seconded by the duke of Bolton, who added that the queen should be requested to make the reward suitable to the importance of the service. Nothing being said in opposition to these motions, the house agreed that an address should be presented.

When it was reported by the committee, the lord North and Grey expatiated upon the barbarity of setting a price on any one's head. He said, it was an encouragement to murder and assassination; contrary to the precepts of Christianity; repugnant to the law of nature and nations; inconsistent with the dignity of such an august assembly, and with the honour of a nation famed for lenity and mercy. He was supported by lord Trevor, who moved, that the reward should be promised for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land in Great Britain or Ireland.

The lords Cowper and Hallifax observed, that however inconsistent such a proceeding might be with the precepts of Christianity, it was yet warranted by the practice of the Romans, of the most civilized nations in Europe, and even of the English nation: that without recurring to remoter times than those of king James the second, that prince had set a price upon the head of his own nephew, the duke of Monmouth. The earl of Anglesey, however and some other lords, who had abandoned the ministry, being now brought back to their former principles, the mitigation was adopted by a majority of ten voices.

To this address, which was presented by the chancellor and the Whig lords only, the queen replied, that it would be a real strengthening to the succession in the house of Hanover, as well as a support to her government, that an end was put to those groundless fears and jealousies, which had been so industriously promoted: that she did not, at that time, see any occasion for such a proclamation: that whenever she judged it to be necessary, she would give orders for having it issued: and that with regard to the other particulars of their address, she would take care to give the proper directions.

They

They afterwards desired her, in another address, to issue out a proclamation against all jesuits, Popish priests and bishops, as well as against all such as were outlawed for adhering to the late king James or the pretender. They likewise resolved, that no person not included in the articles of Limerick, and who had borne arms in France or Spain, should be capable of any employment, civil or military : and that no person, a natural-born subject of her majesty, should be capable of sustaining the character of a public minister from any foreign potentate. These resolutions were levelled at Sir Patrick Lawless, who had come over to England with a credential letter from king Philip, who now thought proper to withdraw from the kingdom.

Then the lords resumed the inquiry into the affair of the treasurer's remitting money to the Highlanders ; but he alledged, in excuse, that, in so doing, he had followed the example of king William, who, after he had reduced that people, thought fit to allow yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, in order to keep them quiet. His conduct was approved by the majority ; and the lord North and Grey moved, that a day might be appointed for considering the treaties of peace and commerce. The mo-

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tion was supported by the earl of Clarendon ; and the thirteenth day of April was fixed for that purpose.

In the mean time an accident happened, which threw the ministry into the utmost perplexity. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded of the chancellor a writ for the electoral prince to sit in the house of peers, as duke of Cambridge, intimating his design was to reside in England. The writ was granted with reluctance ; but the ministry, conscious that such an event would be attended with the ruin of all their projects, and perhaps with the immediate loss of their authority, resolved to exert their utmost endeavours, in order to prevent the prince's arrival.

The queen herself was so offended at the baron's applying to the chancellor, without signifying his intention to her, that she sent him a message forbidding him the court. Soon after she wrote the following letter to the princess Sophia :

“ Madam, Sister, Aunt,

“ Since the right of succession to my  
 “ kingdoms, has been declared to belong  
 “ to you and your family, there have al-  
 “ ways been disaffected persons, who, from  
 “ particular views of their own interest,  
 “ have entered into measures to fix a prince  
 “ of

“ of your blood in my dominions, even  
 “ while I am yet living. I never thought,  
 “ till now, that this project would have  
 “ gone so far, as to have made the least  
 “ impression on your mind. But, as I have  
 “ lately perceived, by public rumours, which  
 “ are industriously spread, that your electo-  
 “ ral highness is come into this sentiment,  
 “ it is of importance, with respect to the  
 “ succession of your family, that I should  
 “ tell you, such a proceeding will infallibly  
 “ draw along with it some consequences,  
 “ that might be dangerous to the succession  
 “ itself, which is not secure any other way  
 “ than as the prince, who actually wears  
 “ the crown, maintains her authority and  
 “ prerogative. There are here (such is our  
 “ misfortune) many persons, who are sedi-  
 “ tiously disposed. So I leave you to judge,  
 “ what tumults they may be able to raise,  
 “ if they should have a pretext to begin a  
 “ commotion. I persuade myself, there-  
 “ fore, you will never consent, that the  
 “ least thing should be done, which may  
 “ disturb the repose of me and my subjects.  
 “ Open yourself to me with the same  
 “ freedom I do to you, and propose what-  
 “ ever you think may contribute to the  
 “ security of the succession. I will come  
 “ into with zeal, provided it do not dero-  
 “ gate

“ gate from my dignity, which I am re-  
 “ solved to maintain.

I am, with great affection, &c.  
 Superfcribed,

*To my Sister and Aunt, the Electress Dow-  
 ager of Brunfwick and Lunenburg.*

At the fame time, ſhe wrote a letter to  
 the duke of Cambridge, in theſe terms :

“ Couſin,

“ An accident, which has happened in  
 “ my lord Paget’s family, having hindered  
 “ him from ſetting forward ſo ſoon as he  
 “ thought to have done, I cannot defer  
 “ any longer letting you know my thoughts  
 “ with reſpect to the deſign you have of  
 “ coming into my kingdoms. As the o-  
 “ pening of the matter ought to have been  
 “ made to me, ſo I expected you would  
 “ not have given ear to it, without know-  
 “ ing my thoughts about it. However,  
 “ this is what I owe to my own dignity,  
 “ the friendship I have for you, and the  
 “ electoral houſe to which you belong,  
 “ that I ſhould tell you, that nothing can  
 “ be more dangerous to the tranquillity of  
 “ my dominions, and the right of ſucceſſi-  
 “ on in your line, and conſequently more  
 “ disagreeable to me, than ſuch a proceed-  
 “ ing at this juncture. I am, with great  
 “ friendship,

“ Your very affectionate couſin,

“ ANNE, R.”

Another

Another letter was written to the elector himself, the contents of which were never communicated to the public. The treasurer took this opportunity to assure his highness of his firm attachment to the family of Hanover. Whether the prince was influenced by the representations of the queen, or the advice of his friends ; whether he believed that his residence in England would be prejudicial to his interest, or was unwilling to give umbrage to her majesty ; whatever was his motive, certain it is, that though he obtained the writ, he never thought proper to use it.

The Whig lords were displeased with the queen's answer to their address concerning the pretender ; and they proposed another address on the same subject, which was accordingly voted, but never presented. The house then proceeded to examine the treaties of peace and commerce, to which many objections were made ; but, at length, it was carried by the influence of the court interest, that an address should be presented to her majesty, acknowledging her goodness, in delivering the nation, by a safe, honourable, and advantageous peace with France and Spain, from the burden of a consuming land war, unequally carried on, and become at last impracticable.

The

The commons concurred in this address, after having voted, that the Protestant succession was out of danger; but these resolutions were not taken without a violent opposition, in which general Stanhope, Mr. Lechmere, and Mr. Walpole, made the chief figure.

The Jacobites having spread a report, that the elector of Brunswick did not think the crown of Britain worth his acceptance, the letters, which the queen had written to the house of Hanover, were printed and dispersed, in order to acquaint the friends of that family, with the reasons which prevented the duke of Cambridge from coming over to England. The ministers were so offended at this step, that they ordered the printer and the person from whom he received the copies of the letters, to be taken into custody.

In the month of May the princess Sophia died, in the eighty-fourth year of her age; and her death was notified to the queen, by baron Bothmar, who arrived in England with the character of envoy-extraordinary from the elector of Hanover. She was the fourth and youngest daughter of Frederic, elector Palatine, king of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of king James the first of England. She inherited from nature an excellent capacity,

capacity, which was admirably improved; and was, in every respect, one of the most accomplished princesses of the age in which she lived. At her death, the court of England went into mourning; and the elector of Brunswick was prayed for, by name, in the liturgy.

As the dissenters, notwithstanding their separation from the church, had always been considered as one chief support of the Protestant succession, those who were now determined to defeat that establishment, resolved, as a previous step, to effect the ruin of these sectaries. With this view, Sir William Wyndham proposed a bill to prevent the growth of schism, and for the further security of the church of England. The design of it was to prohibit dissenters from teaching in schools or academies. It was accordingly prepared, and eagerly opposed in both houses, as a measure equally dangerous and cruel. General Stanhope, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Lechmere exerted all their eloquence and abilities on this occasion.

They said, that it looked more like a decree of Julian the apostate, than a law enacted by a Protestant parliament, since it tended to raise as great a persecution against their Protestant brethren, as either the primitive

mitive Christians ever suffered from the heathen emperors, or the Protestants from Popery and the Inquisition : that it would necessarily give occasion to foreign education, which would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, what was worse, fill the minds of youth with prejudices against the constitution of their country : that this was abundantly verified by the example of the Popish seminaries abroad, which were so pernicious to Great-Britain, that, instead of making new laws to encourage foreign education, they wished, that those already in force against Papists were somewhat mitigated, and a certain number of schools allowed them.

The bill was supported by Mr. secretary Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Hungerford, and Mr. Collier. This last gentleman, who, from a petty attorney, had risen to the directorship of Drury-lane playhouse, and afterwards, by the interest of lord Bolingbroke, obtained a seat in parliament, spoke in a most strange and unaccountable manner. In order to expose the dissenters, he begged leave to read to the house, a collection of absurdities and impious expressions, which he pretended to have extracted from their writings. After reciting part of this impertinent legend, he  
came

came to a passage taken from the nonsensical rhapsodies of the late Mr. Hickeringill, minister at Colchester, in which, Mr. Collier said, the author averred, "that our blessed Saviour was the son of a w——." At this shocking expression he was interrupted by the speaker, and prevented from going on with his harangue.

In the upper house, the bill met with a still more violent opposition. The lord Cowper affirmed, that, instead of preventing schism, and enlarging the pale of the church, it tended to produce ignorance, and its inseparable attendants, superstition and irreligion: that, in many country-towns, reading, writing, and grammar-schools were chiefly supported by the dissenters, not only for the instruction of their own children, but likewise of those of poor churchmen; so that the suppressing of those schools, would, in some places, prevent the reading of the holy scriptures, and, in a great measure, extirpate all kind of learning.

It is remarkable, that the treasurer, the chancellor, and the lord Bolingbroke, were, all of them, educated among the dissenters. The earl of Wharton, taking advantage of this circumstance, said, he was agreeably surprised to see, that some men of pleasure were, on a sudden, become so religious,

as to set up for patrons of the church; but he could not but wonder, that persons, who had been educated in dissenting academies, whom he could point at, and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them: that this was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from these schools, which bred those great men, who had made so glorious a peace, and treaties that executed themselves; who had obtained so great advantages for the trade of the kingdom; and who had paid the public debts without any further charge to the nation: that he could not, therefore, see any reason for suppressing these academies, unless it were an apprehension, that they might still produce greater genius's, that should drown the merits and abilities of the present patriots: that, to be serious, however, it was no less melancholy than surprising, that, at a time, when the court of France prosecuted the design, which they had long since formed, to extirpate the Protestant religion; when not only secret practices were used to impose a Popish pretender on these realms, but even men publicly insisted for his service; it was no less melancholy than surprising he said, that, at this very time, a bill should be brought in, which could not but tend to divide Protestants,

tants, and, consequently, to weaken their interest, and hasten their ruin: that he disapproved of the word schism, with which the frontispiece of the bill was graced; and it was strange they should call that schism in England, which was the established religion in Scotland: that if the lords, who represented that part of Great-Britain, were for this bill, he hoped, that, in order to be even with the English, and consistent with themselves, they would move for another bill to prevent the growth of schism in their own country: that, both in the bill itself, and in the speeches of those who declared for it, several laws were recited and urged; but there was a law which had not yet been mentioned; he expected, indeed, that the venerable bench of bishops would have taken notice of it, but, since they had thought proper to be silent on the occasion, he would himself name it; it was the law of the gospel, "to do to others as we would be done to."

The lord Hallifax alledged, that the very introduction of the bill was injurious to the queen; nor could he believe her majesty would ever give her assent to such a law, after the solemn declaration she had made from the throne, that she would "inviolably maintain the toleration," which this bill

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would, in effect, destroy : that her majesty had made it the glory of her reign to follow the steps of queen Elizabeth, who had not only received and protected the reformed Walloons, who took sanctuary in her dominions from the Spanish inquisition ; but had likewise allowed them the public exercise of their religion, and caused a clause in their favour to be inserted in the act of uniformity: that, by these means, that wise and glorious queen had vastly increased the wealth of the realm, the Walloons having established the woollen manufactures, which are the best branch of the national trade : that the protection and encouragement, given by the late king, and her present majesty, to the French refugees, had proved no less advantageous to the kingdom : that it would, therefore, be a piece of the highest barbarity to make an act, which would deprive many French Protestants of the means of subsisting, either by keeping public schools, or by teaching in private families, especially considering their late hard treatment from the government, which had not, for above three years past, paid them any part of the fifteen thousand pounds *per annum*, allowed in the civil list towards the maintenance of their poor and ministers : and that, those who promoted this bill with so much eagerness, would

would do well to remember the consequences of persecuting the dissenters, in the reign of king Charles the first, which kindled a furious and unnatural civil war, and ended, at last, in the total overthrow of church and state, and in the king's murder.

The lord Townsend, among other pertinent remarks on the danger of persecution, said, he had lived a long time in Holland, and had observed, that the wealth and strength of that great and powerful republic, consisted chiefly in the number of its inhabitants; and that he was persuaded, that, if the states should cause the schools of any one sect, tolerated in Holland, to be shut up, those provinces would soon be as thin of people as Sweden or Spain, whereas now they swarmed with inhabitants.

The earl of Nottingham owned, that he had formerly been of opinion, that the occasional conformity of the dissenters was dangerous to the established church; and therefore, he had ever promoted the bill to prevent it: but the church having now that security, he believed her safe, and out of danger; and therefore, he thought himself bound in conscience to oppose so barbarous a law as the present, which tended to deprive parents of the natural right of educating their own children. He said, he had

observed, both from history and his own experience, that all the persecutions, which had been raised in England against schismatics, proceeded originally from a design to favour and countenance Popery. He particularly excepted against that part of the bill which ordained, that any person, who should keep any public or private school, or act as tutor to any youth, should have a licence from the bishop of the place. "My lords," continued he, "I have many children, and I know not whether God will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble, when I think that a certain divine, who is hardly suspected of being a christian (meaning Dr. Swift) is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licences to those, who shall be intrusted with the education of youth."

The ministry, however, were little concerned about the number or weight of the arguments that were urged. They knew they had a plurality of voices: they therefore insisted on the question's being put; and the bill passed, though only by a majority of five votes. It afterwards received the royal assent; but the queen dying before it took place,

place, the act was, in a great measure, rendered ineffectual.

By this time the queen's constitution was quite broken : one fit of sickness was followed by another ; and what completed the ruin of her health, was the anxiety of her mind, owing partly to the discontents which prevailed among her subjects ; partly to the dissensions and animosities of her ministers, which were now become intolerable. The council chamber was converted into a scene of obstinate and violent contention. Even in the queen's presence, the treasurer and secretary did not abstain from mutual reproach and recrimination.

Oxford advised moderate measures, and is said to have made advances towards an accommodation with the Whig noblemen, who, he plainly perceived, would soon gain the ascendant. Bolingbroke affected to set the Whigs at defiance : he professed a flaming zeal for the church ; and soothed the queen's inclinations with the most artful flattery. He, and his coadjutrix, lady Masham, insinuated, that the treasurer was prejudiced in favour of the Dissenters, and even, that he acted as a spy for the house of Hanover.

In the course of these disputes and commotions the Jacobites were not idle. They believed that the queen secretly favoured the  
interest

interest of the pretender; and they depended upon Bolingbroke's attachment to the same cause. They fondly imagined, that the same sentiments were entertained by a great part of the nation. They held frequent consultations both in Great-Britain and Ireland. They resolved to improve the public dissensions to the advantage of their party. They had even the presumption to enlist men for the service of the pretender. Some of these practices were discovered by the earl of Wharton, who immediately communicated the intelligence. Several persons were seized, and some of them condemned and executed.

This affair made so much noise that the ministry could not avoid taking notice of it. A proclamation was published promising a reward of five thousand pounds for apprehending the pretender, whenever he should land or attempt to land in Great-Britain. The commons resolved upon an address of thanks for the proclamation, and assured her majesty that they would cheerfully aid and assist her, by granting the sum of an hundred thousand pounds, as a further reward to any who should perform so great a service to her majesty and her kingdoms.

The earl of Nottingham moved, that the lords should present an address on the same subject.

subject. The motion was seconded by the earl of Wharton, who, holding the queen's proclamation in his hand, most pathetically lamented her majesty's owning, that her endeavours to remove the pretender from Lorrain had proved ineffectual. "Unhappy princess!" said he, "how much is her condition altered! will posterity believe, that so great a queen, who had reduced the exorbitant power of France, given a king to Spain, and whose very ministers have made the Emperor and the States-General to tremble, would yet want power to make so petty, so inconsiderable a prince as the duke of Lorrain, comply with her just request of removing out of his dominions the pretender to her crown?" Nottingham's motion being approved by the house, the address was accordingly voted and presented.

Bolingbroke, the better to conceal his real intentions, proposed a bill, denouncing the penalty of high-treason against those, who should lift or be enlisted in the pretender's service. The lord Hallifax observed, that such a bill was altogether needless, as both the pretender and all his adherents were already attainted of high-treason: that the pretender was of himself inconsiderable, and not to be feared, but only in as far

far as he was countenanced and protected by the French king, whose interest and constant design it was to impose him on these kingdoms. He therefore moved, that it should be high treason for any of her majesty's subjects to list or be enlisted in the service of any foreign prince or state, without a licence under the sign manual of her majesty, her heirs or successors. With this amendment the bill was passed, and afterwards received the concurrence of the commons.

On the second day of July the lords took into consideration the treaty of commerce with Spain, and several merchants being examined at the bar of the house, declared, that, unless the explanations of the third, fifth, and eighth articles, which had been made at Madrid after the signing of the treaty, were rescinded, they could not carry on that trade without losing twenty-five per cent.

After a long debate, the house resolved to address the queen for all the papers relating to the negotiation of the treaty of commerce with Spain, with the names of the persons who advised her majesty to that treaty. To this address the queen answered, that understanding the three explanatory articles of the treaty were not detrimental

tal to the trade of her subjects, she had consented to their being ratified with the treaty.

The earl of Wharton said, that if so little regard was shewn to the addresses of that august assembly, they had no business in that house. He moved for a remonstrance to her majesty, to lay before her the insuperable difficulties that attended the Spanish trade on the footing of the late treaty; and the house approved of the motion. It was likewise moved, that the house should insist on her majesty's naming the persons, who had advised her to ratify the three explanatory articles.

This blow was levelled at the lord Bollingbroke and Arthur Moore, his agent, a member of the lower house, who had had the chief management of the treaty, and who, by several circumstances, appeared to have been corrupted by the Spanish court. He was screened by the majority in parliament; but a general court of the South-sea company resolved, upon a complaint preferred by captain Johnson, that Arthur Moore, while a director, was privy to, and encouraged the design of carrying on a clandestine trade, to the prejudice of the corporation, contrary to his oath, and in breach of the trust reposed in him; and that, for such misdemeanour, he should be declared incapable of being a director of,

or

or having any employment in that company. The queen had taken to herself the quarter part of the Assiento contract, which, in consequence of an address from the upper house, she now gave up to the company; but she refused to discover the names of those, who had advised her to ratify the explanatory articles.

The lottery bill being now ready for the royal assent, her majesty came to the house of peers on the ninth day of July, and closed the session with a speech on the usual topics. After having thanked them for the supplies they had granted, she declared, that her constant endeavours were to preserve the Protestant religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of her kingdoms: but that she must tell them plainly, that these desirable ends could never be attained, unless they brought the same disposition on their parts; unless all groundless jealousies, which create and foment divisions among them, were laid aside; and unless they shewed the same regard for her just prerogative, and for the honour of her government, as she had always expressed for the rights of her people.

The ministers, conscious they were equally concerned in the late negotiation, had hitherto been restrained, by the fear of com-  
mon

mon danger, from coming to an open rupture; but being now freed from that restraint by the treaty's receiving the approbation of parliament, they no longer kept any measures, but gave an unbounded loose to their mutual animosity. Oxford wrote a letter to the queen, containing an account of the public transactions during the four last years; in the course of which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and expose the turbulent and ambitious spirit of his rival.

Bolingbroke, on the other hand, accused the treasurer of having invited the duke of Marlborough to return to England; of having held private conferences with other Whig lords; of having discovered the queen's councils to the court of Hanover; and even of having advised them to demand a writ for the duke of Cambridge. The duke of Shrewsbury likewise complained of his having presumed to send orders to him in Ireland, without the privity of her majesty and the council. In all probability, his greatest crime was his having given umbrage to the favourite lady Masham, by scrupling to pay a grant of fifteen hundred pounds a year, which she had lately obtained. Certain it is, on the twenty-seventh day of July a very violent altercation

passed between that lady, the chancellor, and Oxford, in the queen's presence. The treasurer said he had been wronged and abused by lies and misrepresentations; but he would be revenged, and leave some persons as low as he found them.

In the mean time he was divested of all his employments; and Bolingbroke seemed to triumph in the victory he had gained. He hoped he should succeed as prime minister in the administration of affairs; and is said to have formed the design of a coalition with the duke of Marlborough, who, at this very time, embarked at Ostend for England. Probably, Oxford had attempted the same expedient; but met with a repulse from the duke, who had solemnly vowed never to be reconciled to that minister.

Whatever schemes might have been formed, the fall of the treasurer was so sudden that no measures were concerted for supplying his place and filling up the other vacancies that most necessarily attend his disgrace. The general confusion that followed at court, and the fatigue of attending a long cabinet-council on the event, had such an effect upon the queen's spirits and constitution, that she declared she should not outlive it, and was immediately seized with a lethargic disorder. Several medicines were prescribed by the physi-

physicians; but notwithstanding all their applications, the disease increased so fast, that next day, which was the thirtieth of July, they despaired of her life. The committee of the council, which was assembled at the Cockpit, adjourned to Kensington.

The dukes of Somerset and Argyle, informed of the desperate condition in which she lay, repaired to the Palace; and without being summoned, entered the council-chamber. The members were surprized at their appearance; but upon being made acquainted with the motives of their coming, the duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance in such a critical juncture, and desired they would take their places. Then they proposed that the physicians should be examined concerning the state of the queen's health, that so they might provide against all contingencies.

The physicians having declared that her majesty was still sensible though extremely weak, some members represented the absolute necessity of supplying the treasurer's place in case of her death. They accordingly recommended the duke of Shrewsbury as the fittest person to undertake that important charge. When this opinion was signified to the queen, she said they could

not have recommended a person she liked better than the duke of Shrewsbury. She delivered to him the white staff, bidding him use it for the good of her people. He would have returned the lord chamberlain's staff: but she desired him to keep them both: so that he was at one time possessed of three of the greatest posts of the kingdom, those of lord-treasurer, lord-chamberlain, and lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

The advancement of Shrewsbury to the head of the treasury, produced an entire alteration in the face of affairs: it baffled the designs of Bolingbroke, extinguished the hopes of the Jacobites, and revived the spirits of all who wished well to the Protestant succession. The dukes of Somerset and Argyll proposed, that all privy-counsellors, in and about London, should be invited to attend, without distinction of party. The motion was approved, and the lord Somers, with many other friends of the family of Hanover, repaired to Kensington.

The council being thus strengthened began to provide for the security of the kingdom. Severe reflections were made upon the ministry for leaving the maritime places entirely destitute of men and ammunition, consequently incapable of defence, in case of a sudden invasion. Orders were dis-

dispatched to four regiments of horse and dragoons, quartered in remote counties, to march up to the neighbourhood of London and Westminster. Seven of the ten British battalions in the Netherlands, were directed to embark at Ostend for England, with all possible dispatch: an embargo was laid upon all shipping: and directions were given for equipping all the ships of war that could soonest be got ready for service.

A letter was sent to the elector of Brunswick, intimating, that the physicians had despaired of the queen's life, acquainting him with the measures that had been taken, and desiring he would, with all convenient speed, repair to Holland, where he should be attended by a British squadron to convey him to England, in case of her majesty's decease.

At the same time instructions were dispatched to the earl of Strafford, to require the States-General to prepare for performing their guaranty of the Protestant succession. Measures were taken to secure the sea ports; and overawe the Jacobites in Scotland: the command of the fleet was bestowed upon the earl of Berkley; and the heralds at arms, were kept in readiness to proclaim the new king, as soon as the vacancy of the throne should happen. The queen continued to

died in a state of lethargic insensibility till the first day of August about seven in the morning, when she expired in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign.

Queen Anne was in her person of the middle stature, well proportioned. Her hair was of a dark brown colour, her complexion sanguine and ruddy, her features strong and regular, her countenance rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was remarkably clear and harmonious, as appeared particularly in the graceful delivery of her speeches to parliament. She had a tolerable ear for music, and performed indifferently on the guittar, an instrument then greatly in vogue. She was a pattern of conjugal fidelity and affection, a tender mother, a warm friend, a munificent patron.

Her character, viewed in a political light, is sufficiently apparent from the transactions of her reign, which the reader will easily remember. She had been bred up with strong prepossessions in favour of the Tories, whom she was taught to regard as the only true friends of the church and monarchy, and incurable prejudices against the Whigs, whom she unjustly considered as the determined enemies of both. To this was owing  
her

her unhappy conduct in resigning herself into the hands of the former party during the last four years of her reign; in consequence of which, one of the most glorious and successful wars, that had ever been carried on by any English monarch, was concluded by a peace, which raised the power of the Bourbon family to a dangerous height, and has proved the source of most of the troubles that have since happened in Europe.

That her ministers entertained designs in favour of the pretender can hardly be doubted. Whether she herself had ever adopted the same sentiments seems not equally clear. This much, perhaps, may be affirmed, without incurring the charge of partiality, that, however inclinable she might have been, from the force of prejudice, to advance the pretender to the throne of Great-Britain, could she have done it in a peaceable manner; the humanity of her heart would always have prevented her from attempting such an experiment at the hazard of a civil war, which would certainly have followed, and would have been attended with the utter ruin of him and his adherents: for whatever they might fondly imagine, their numbers never bore any proportion to those who were firmly attached to the Protestant succession.

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sion, Her reign may be said to have been bloodless, no person having been executed, at least beheaded for treason, during the course of her administration ; a circumstance, which cannot be affirmed of any other English prince from the time of Edward the first.


BOOK



## B O O K XIII.

From the Accession of George the first,  
to the demise of his late majesty, George  
the Second.

GEORGE I. A. D. 1714.

 U E E N Anne had no sooner re-  
signed her last breath, than the  
privy-council met, and the arch-  
bishop of Canterbury, the lord  
chancellor, and the Hanoverian  
resident, Kreyenberg, produced the three  
instruments, in which the elector of Brunf-  
wick had nominated the persons to be added  
as lords justices, to the seven great officers of  
the crown.\* Orders were immediately  
issued

\* The great officers were: Dr. Tennison, arch-  
bishop of Canterbury; lord chancellor Harcourt;  
John

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issued for proclaiming king George in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and these were executed with the usual solemnities.

The regency appointed the earl of Dorset to carry to Hanover the news of the king's accession, and attend him in his journey to England. They dispatched the general officers, in whom they could confide, to their respective posts: they reinforced the garrison of Portsmouth: they sent some ships of war to inspect the harbours of France: and they appointed Mr. Addison their secretary, while lord Bolingbroke was obliged to stand at the door of the council-chamber, with his bag and papers, and receive orders from those, whom, a few days before, he expected to command.

In a word, king George ascended the throne of Great-Britain, in the fifty-fifth year

John Sheffield, duke of Buckinghamshire, lord president; Charles Talbot, duke of Shrewsbury, lord-treasurer; William Legg, earl of Dartmouth, lord privy-seal; Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, first commissioner of the admiralty; Sir Thomas Parker, lord chief-justice of the King's-Bench.

The persons added by the elector of Brunswick's instruments were: the dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, Bolton, Devonshire, Kent, Argyle, Montrose, Roxburgh, the earls of Pomfret, Anglesey, Carlisle, Nottingham Abingdon, Scarborough, Orford, lord viscount Townsend, the lords Hallifax and Cowper.

year of his age, without the least disturbance or tumult: the Jacobites being so confounded by the sudden death of her late majesty, and the overthrow of their champion, Bolingbroke, that they were ashamed and afraid to avow their sentiments; and artfully representing their want of power to make any opposition as want of inclination. Some of the more foolish of them, however, could not refrain from whispering their secret wishes. The mayor of Oxford received, from a person in a batchelor's gown, a letter, requiring him to proclaim the pretender. This being communicated to the vice-chancellor, a copy of it was immediately transmitted to Mr. secretary Bromely, member of parliament for the university; and the vice-chancellor offered a reward of one hundred pounds to any person, who should discover the author.

The parliament being met, pursuant to the act which regulated the succession, the lord chancellor, on the fifth day of August, made a speech to both houses, in the name of the regency, importing, that the privy-council appointed by the elector of Brunswick, had proclaimed that prince, under the name of king GEORGE, as the lawful and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms: that they had taken the necessary care to preserve the public

public peace : that the several branches of the revenue were expired by the demise of her late majesty ; and he begged leave to recommend to them the making such provision in that respect, as might be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the crown : that he hoped they would not be wanting in any thing that might conduce to the establishing and advancing public credit : that the privy-council, not having received his majesty's orders, declined laying before them any thing that did not require their immediate consideration : that he would only take the freedom to exhort them, with the greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to the interest of their sovereign, as the only means of preserving the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Both houses immediately drew up addresses, containing condolences on the death of the late queen, congratulations on his majesty's happy accession, and the warmest expressions of duty and affection. The king, in his answers, sympathized with them on the loss they had sustained, thanked them for the assurances of their loyalty and attachment, and promised to make it his constant care to preserve their religion and liberties inviolate.

Mean

Mean while, the lower house prepared and passed a bill, granting to his majesty the same civil list, which the queen had enjoyed; with additional clauses for the payment of arrears, amounting to sixty-five thousand pounds, due to the Hanoverian troops, which had been in the service of Great-Britain; and for a reward of one hundred thousand pounds to be paid by the treasury, to any person who should apprehend the pretender in landing, or attempting to land, in any part of the British dominions.

Mr. Craggs, who had been dispatched to Hanover before the queen died, returning on the thirteenth day of August, with letters from the king to the regency, they went to the house of peers; and the chancellor made another speech to both houses, intimating, that his majesty was highly satisfied with the loyalty and affection which his people had universally expressed at his accession: and that, agreeable to their earnest desire, he was hastening hither, with all possible expedition.

Other addresses were voted on this occasion. The commons, having finished the bill for the civil list, and one for making some alterations in the act for a state lottery, which received the royal assent from the re-

gency, the parliament was prorogued to the third day of September.

Mr. Prior, having intimated the queen's death, to the court of Versailles, Lewis declared, that he would inviolably maintain the treaty of peace concluded at Utrecht, particularly, with regard to the settlement of the British crown in the house of Hanover. The earl of Strafford having notified the same event to the States of Holland, and monsieur Klingraef, the resident of Hanover, having presented them with a letter, in which his master demanded the performance of their guaranty; they promised to fulfil their engagements, and congratulated his electoral highness, on his accession to the throne of Great-Britain. They declared that they considered the support of his succession as a matter, in which not only the interest of England, but also the security of the Protestant religion, the safety of their republic, and even the liberty of all Europe, were deeply concerned. They invited him to pass through their territories; and assured him, that his interests were as dear to them as their own.

The pretender was no sooner informed of the queen's death, than he posted to Versailles, where he was told, by the marquis de Torcy, that his most Christian majesty desired,

desired, he would quit his dominions immediately; and he accordingly thought proper to return to Lorrain.

By this time, Mr. Murray had arrived in England, from Hanover, with notice, that the king had delayed his departure, for a few days. He brought orders to the regency to prepare a patent for creating the prince royal, prince of Wales, and for divesting lord Bolingbroke of his post of secretary. The seals were accordingly taken from this minister, by the dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and lord Cowper, who, at the same time, locked and sealed up all the doors of his office.

King George, having entrusted the government of his German dominions to a council, headed by his brother, prince Ernest, set out with the electoral prince from Herenhausen, on the thirty-first of August; and in four days arrived at Utrecht, from whence he repaired to the Hague, where he had several conferences with the States-General. On the sixteenth of September, he embarked at Orange Polder, on board the *Peregrine* and *Mary* yacht, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the earl of Berkeley; and next evening arrived at the Hope, where the admiral dropped anchor.

The next morning being foggy, the yacht did not sail up the river till the afternoon, when his majesty, with the prince, were landed, from a barge, at Greenwich, about six in the evening. There he was received by the earl of Northumberland, captain of the life guards, and the lords of the regency. From the landing-place, he walked to his house in Greenwich Park, attended by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for such of the nobility as had distinguished themselves by their zeal for his succession; but the duke of Ormond, the lord-chancellor, and the lord Trevor were not of the number.

Oxford was not present at the king's landing; but next morning, he appeared before him with an air of confidence, as if he expected to receive some particular mark of the royal favour. He had the mortification to remain a long time undistinguished in the croud; and then was permitted to kiss the king's hand, without being honoured with any other notice. On the other hand, his majesty expressed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, who had lately returned to England, as well as for the other leaders of the Whig party. On the twentieth day

day of September he made his public entry with great pomp and magnificence, being preceded by above two hundred coaches of the nobility and gentry, each of them drawn by six horses.

The conduct of the Tories in the late reign, had been so prejudicial to the interest of their country, so detrimental to the liberties of Europe, and so little favourable to the Protestant succession, that it is not surprising, if they were now divested of all power and authority, and some of them afterwards called to an account for their misdeemeanours: the wonder is that no severer punishments were inflicted upon them than what they actually suffered.

A total change was immediately effected in all places of trust and profit. The duke of Ormond was deprived of his command, which the king restored to the duke of Marlborough, whom he likewise constituted colonel of the first regiment of foot-guards, and master of the ordnance. The great seal was given to lord Cowper; the privy-seal to the earl of Wharton; and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland. The duke of Devonshire was made steward of the household; lord Townsend and Mr. Stanhope were declared secretaries of state: the post of secretary for

Scotland was conferred upon the duke of Montrose. The duke of Somerset was appointed master of the horse; the duke of St. Alban's, captain of the band of pensioners; and the duke of Argyle, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Mr. Pulteney was nominated secretary at war; and Mr. Robert Walpole paymaster to the army and to Chelsea-hospital.

A new privy-council was formed, and the earl of Nottingham declared president; but all affairs of consequence were concerted by a cabinet-council, consisting of the duke of Marlborough, the earls of Nottingham and Sunderland, the lords Hallifax, Townsend, Somers, and general Stanhope. The regency had already removed Sir Constantine Phipps and the arch-bishop of Armagh from the office of lords justices of Ireland; and substituted in their room, the archbishop of Dublin and the earl of Kildare. Alan Broderick was constituted chancellor: a new privy-council was established for that kingdom, and the duke of Ormond was named as one of the members. The treasury and admiralty were put in commission; the lord Hallifax being placed at the head of the former, the earl of Orford at that of the latter.

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Notwithstanding the great interest which the Tories pretended to possess, these changes were followed by no ill humour or popular discontent. Addresses congratulating his majesty's accession, were presented by the two universities, and by all the counties, cities, boroughs and corporations of the kingdom. He expressed particular satisfaction at these instances of their loyalty and attachment.

He declared in council, his firm resolution to support and maintain the churches of England and Scotland, as they were severally by law established. This he apprehended might be effectually done without impairing the toleration allowed by law to Protestant dissenters, and so necessary to the trade and riches of the kingdom: and he further assured them, that he would endeavour to render property secure: the good effects of which were no where so clearly seen as in this happy island.

Before the coronation he created some new peers, and others were advanced to higher titles.\* At the same time the prince royal

\* James lord Chandos, was created earl of Caernarvon; Lewis, lord Rockingham, earl of that name; Charles, lord Ossulton, earl of Tankerville; Charles, lord

royal was declared prince of Wales, and took his place at the council-board. In the beginning of October the princess of Wales arrived in England with her two eldest daughters, the princesses Anne and Amelia.

On the twentieth day of the same month the king was crowned in Westminster with the usual solemnity, at which the earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke assisted. The occasion was distinguished by popular rejoicings over the whole kingdom, except in a few places, where the rabble shewed their hatred to the Protestant succession by tumults and riots. The university of Oxford too, as a specimen of their principles, the very day on which the king was crowned, unanimously conferred, in full convocation, the degree of doctor of civil law on Sir Constantine Phipps, with particular marks of honour and esteem.

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lord Hallifax, earl of Hallifax; Heneage, lord Guernsey, earl of Aylesford; John lord Hervey, earl of Bristol; Thomas, lord Pelham, earl of Clare; Henry, earl of Thomond, in Ireland, viscount Tadmort; James, viscount Castleton in Ireland, baron Sanderson; Bennet, lord Sherrard in Ireland, baron of Harborough; Gervase, lord Pierrepont, in Ireland, baron Pierrepont in the county of Bucks; Henry Boyle, baron of Carleton, in the county of York; Sir Richard Temple, baron of Cobham in the county of Kent; Henry, lord Paget, earl of Uxbridge.

As the French king industriously protracted the demolition of Dunkirk, Mr. Prior received orders to present a memorial to hasten this work, and to prevent the canal of Mardyke from being finished, Lewis having returned an equivocal answer, Prior was recalled, and the earl of Stair was appointed ambassador to the court of Versailles, where he prosecuted this affair with uncommon vigour. At the same time as the barrier treaty, which was now on the carpet between the emperor and the States-General, was of great consequence to the trade of England, general Cadogan was sent to Antwerp to assist at the conferences.

Mean while the Jacobites and violent Tories could no longer conceal their aversion to the government. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were infused into the minds of weak people; seditious libels were published and dispersed; and dangerous tumults raised in different parts of the kingdom. Birmingham, Bristol, Chippenham, Norwich, and Reading, were filled with licentious riots. The party-cry was, "down with the Whigs; Sacheverel for ever: damn all foreign government." Many Whig gentlemen were abused; magistrates in town, and justices in the country were reviled and insulted: and  
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one person was even killed in endeavouring to appease the rioters.

The pretender, encouraged by these symptoms in his favour, thought proper to transmit, by the French mail, copies of a printed manifesto, to the dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle and other nobelmen of the first distinction. In this declaration he said, that the revolution had ruined the English monarchy, laid the foundation of a republican government, and devolved the sovereign power on the people: that though he had no reason to doubt of the good intentions of his sister towards him, which were unhappily prevented by her deplorable death: yet his people, instead of taking this opportunity of retrieving the honour and true interest of their country, by doing him and themselves justice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and incontestable laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of settlement could never abrogate.

This manifesto was answered and refuted in a pamphlet written by Dr. Toland, who exposed the absurdity of the pretender's allegations. The copies of the representation being delivered to the secretaries of state, the king refused an audience to the marquis de Lamberti, minister of the duke of Lorrain, from a conviction, that this  
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affair could not have been transacted without the knowledge and countenance of his master. The marquis having intimated this circumstance to the duke, that prince absolutely denied his having been privy to the matter, and declared that the chevalier de St. George came into Lorrain by the directions of the French king, whom the duke could not disoblige, without exposing his territories to invasion.

Lewis disclaiming his laying the duke under any restraint, this answer was not deemed satisfactory: the marquis therefore was given to understand, that he could not be admitted to an audience, until the pretender should be removed from the dominions of his master; and as the duke would not comply with this condition, the marquis thought proper to withdraw from the kingdom.

The Tories still endeavoured to promote their political views under the specious pretexts of religion. The high-churchmen complained, that impiety and heresy daily gained ground from the supine negligence of the Whig prelates. The lower house had, after the queen's death, declared, that a book lately published by Dr. Samuel Clarke, under the title of "The Scripture doctrine of the Trinity," contained assertions contrary to the Catholic faith.

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They sent up extracts from this performance to the bishops; and the doctor wrote an answer to their objections. He was persuaded to write an apology, which he laid before the upper house; but apprehensive lest, if it should be published separately, it might be misunderstood, he afterwards delivered an explanation to the bishop of London. This was satisfactory to the bishops; but the lower house resolved, that it was no recantation of his heretical assertions.

The disputes about the Trinity growing every day more violent, the archbishops and bishops received directions, which were published, for preserving unity in the church, the purity of the Catholic faith concerning the holy Trinity, and for maintaining the quiet and peace of the state. By these every preacher was forbid to deliver any other doctrine concerning the Trinity, than what is maintained in the holy scriptures, is agreeable to the three creeds, and is consonant with the thirty-nine articles of religion; to indulge in bitter and virulent invectives against any persons whatever; and to intermeddle in the least with affairs of state or government. The like prohibition was extended to those who should write, harangue, or dispute on the same subjects.

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The parliament being dissolved, another was called by a proclamation, in which the king said, that, it having pleased God, by the most remarkable steps of Providence, to bring him safe to the throne of this kingdom, notwithstanding the designs of those, who shewed themselves disaffected to his accession, and who had since, with the utmost malice, misrepresented his firm resolution and constant endeavours to preserve and defend the constitution of the kingdom both in church and state, and attempted, by many false suggestions, to render him suspected to his people; he could not omit, on this occasion of first summoning the parliament of Great-Britain, in justice to himself, and in order to prevent the miscarriages of others from being imputed to him, at a time when false impressions might do the most signal and irreparable hurt, before they could be cleared up, to signify to his whole kingdom, that he was very much concerned, at his accession to the crown, to find the public affairs of his kingdom involved in the greatest perplexities, as well in respect of trade and commerce, as in the enormous debts of the nation, which he was surprised to observe, had been very much increased since the conclusion of the war: that he did not therefore doubt, that,

if the ensuing elections should be made by his subjects, with that safety and freedom, to which by law they were entitled, and which he was firmly resolved to maintain to them, they would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of his kingdom, and the ease of his people for the future; and that, in their choice of members, they would have a particular regard to such as had shewed a firm attachment to the Protestant succession, when it was in danger.

The late ministry foreseeing they should be called to an account for their conduct, held several consultations together, in order to concert means for averting the impending storm, and soon after a traiterous libel was published, under the title of "English advice to the freeholders of Great-Britain." This pamphlet, which was supposed to have been written by Dr. Atterbury, contained the most bitter invectives against the Whigs and the present ministry, and even the most invidious reflexions on the king's person and family: it was artfully contrived to excite jealousies and discontents against the government, and to infuse into the minds of people an opinion of the church's being in danger: and it

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was circulated with great care and industry through all parts of the kingdom. A proclamation was issued, promising a reward of a thousand pounds for the author, and half that sum for the apprehension of the printer; but both of them remained safe from detection.\*

When the earl of Strafford returned from Holland, all his papers were seized by an order from the secretary's office. Mr. Prior was recalled from France, and promised to discover all he knew relating to the steps of Oxford's administration. Mean while the two parties exerted their utmost efforts in the present elections; but so highly had the nation been incensed at the conduct of the late ministry, that the Whigs gained the victory by a great majority.

When this parliament met on the fourteenth day of March, Mr. Spencer Compton was chosen speaker of the commons. On the twenty-first day of March the king came to the house of peers, and delivered to the chancellor, a written speech, which was read in presence of both houses. His majesty said, that this being the first opportunity he had had of meeting his people in parliament, he gladly laid hold of it, to thank his faithful

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and loving subjects, for the zeal and firmness, they had shewn in defence of the Protestant succession, against all the open and secret practices which had been used to defeat it; and that he never should forget the obligations he owed to those, who had distinguished themselves upon this occasion: that it were to be wished, that the unparalleled successes of a war, which was so wisely and cheerfully supported by this nation, in order to procure a good peace, had been attended with a suitable conclusion; but it was with concern he must tell them, that some conditions, even of this peace, were not yet duly executed; and that the performance of the whole might be looked upon as precarious, until defensive alliances should be formed to guaranty the present treaty: that the pretender, who still resided in Lorrain, threatened to disturb the kingdom, and boasted of the assistance he expected in England, to repair his former disappointments: that great part of the national trade was rendered impracticable; and this inconvenience, if not remedied, would ruin the manufactures, and destroy the navigation of the kingdom: that, as the public debts were very great, and surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms, he had made it his first care to prevent the further increase of those debts,

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by paying off a great number of ships, which had been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continuing such an expence: that he depended on his faithful commons for such supplies as the present situation of affairs required, for the service of the ensuing year, and the maintenance of the public faith; the estimates should be laid before them; and what they should judge necessary for their own safety, he should think sufficient for his: that the branches of the revenue formerly granted for the support of the civil government, were so far encumbered and alienated, that the produce of the funds which remained, and had been granted to him, would fall much short of what was at first designed for maintaining the honour and dignity of the crown: that it was his happiness (and he was confident they thought it theirs) to see a prince of Wales, who might, in due time, succeed him on the throne; and to see him blessed with many children; these circumstances would naturally occasion an expence, to which the nation had not for many years been accustomed, but such, at the same time, as, he was sure, no man would grudge; and therefore he doubted not but they would think of it with that affection which he had reason to hope from his commons: that the eyes of all Europe were up-

on them, and waited with impatience, the issue of this first session: that he begged no unhappy division of parties might divert them from pursuing the common interest of their country, nor any wicked insinuations disquiet the minds of his subjects: that the established constitution in church and state should be the rule of his government; and the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people, the chief care of his life: that those who concurred with him in prosecuting these measures, he should always consider as his best friends: and that he doubted not but he should be able, with their assistance, to disappoint the designs of such as would deprive him of that blessing, which he most valued, the affection of his people.

Addresses of thanks were immediately presented by both houses. The lords said, they hoped his majesty, assisted by his parliament, would be able to recover the reputation of the kingdom in foreign parts; the loss of which, they would endeavour to convince the world, by their actions, was, by no means, to be imputed to the nation in general.

The commons declared they were astonished to find that any conditions of the late peace should not yet be duly executed; and that care had not been taken to form such alliances,

ances, as might have rendered the peace not precarious: that it was with resentment they observed, that the pretender still resided in Lorrain; and had the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up his majesty's subjects to rebellion; but that what raised their indignation to the highest degree, was, that it appeared from these manifestoes, that his hopes were built upon the measures, which had, for some time past, been taken in Great-Britain: that they would make it their business to inquire into these fatal miscarriages; to trace out the nature of these pernicious measures, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment.

These addresses, however, were not voted without opposition. In the house of lords, the dukes of Buckingham and Shrewsbury, the earl of Anglesey, the archbishop of York, and other peers both secular and ecclesiastical, alledged, that the address was injurious to the late queen's memory, and would only serve to increase those unhappy divisions which prevailed in the kingdom.

In the lower house, Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Shippen, Mr. Hungerford, Sir William Whitelock, and other members objected to passages of the same nature, in the address which the commons had

had prepared. They were answered by Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, Mr. Secretary Stanhope, and Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who declared, that nothing was farther from their intention than to asperse the memory of the late queen : that they rather meant to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil counsellors, who had deluded her into pernicious measures ; whereas the opposite party endeavoured to blacken and disgrace her memory by loading it with all that odium which was only due to their destructive counsels : that the address, however, only condemned the peace, without affecting particular persons ; who, as they ought not in justice, so they might depend upon it, never should be condemned without a fair trial : that the late negotiators, indeed, had industriously trumped up a report, that the present ministers never intended to call them to an account, but only to censure them in general terms : that the falsity of this should soon be demonstrated : that, notwithstanding the endeavours, which had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away secret papers from the secretary's office ; yet the government had sufficient evidence to prove the late ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the helm : that those matters would,

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in a little time, he laid before the house, when it would appear, that a certain English general had acted in concert with, if not received orders from mareschal de Villars.

While the storm was thus gathering, the conduct of the late ministers was equally singular and different. Oxford skulked about, sometimes in town, sometimes in the country, with a seeming air of unconcern; professed his innocence and freedom from guilt; and boasted of the mighty things he had done for the security of the Protestant succession. To provide, however, against all contingencies, he took care privately to dispose of his flock in the south-sea company.

Bolingbroke affected to act a more open and ingenuous part: he appeared in public with his usual assurance; justified his conduct in the late negotiations; and spoke in parliament with such warmth and boldness, as if he had no sense of guilt, nor dread of punishment. But when he heard that Prior had promised to discover his secret correspondence, his heart began to fail him, and he thought it high time to consult his personal safety. He accordingly retired to the continent, leaving a letter, which was afterwards published in his vindication.

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In this paper he said he had received certain and repeated intelligence, that a resolution was taken to pursue him to the scaffold: that, if there had been the least reason to hope for a fair trial, after having been already prejudged by the two houses of parliament, he should not have declined the strictest examination: that he challenged the most inveterate of his enemies to produce any one instance of criminal correspondence or the least corruption in any part of the administration in which he was concerned: that if his zeal for the honour and dignity of his royal mistress, and the true interest of his country, had any where transported him to let drop an unguarded expression; he hoped the most favourable construction would be put upon it: that he had served her majesty faithfully, in that especially which she had most at heart, relieving her people from a bloody and expensive war: and that he had always been too much an Englishman to sacrifice the interest of his country to any foreign ally whatsoever. Little regard was paid to this representation, as the most material assertions in it might have been easily confuted.

Notwithstanding the general indignation that prevailed against the conduct of the late ministry, such was the force of party-spirit, and

and such the remains of that ferment, which had been raised by the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, that the Tories had obtained about one third of the seats in the present parliament; and as some of these had been deeply concerned in concluding the peace, they resolved to justify that unpopular measure. With this view they procured addresses from several counties, declaring the peace to be general, solid, honourable, and extremely advantageous to the people of England.

Not satisfied with this seeming advantage, they proceeded to attack the present administration. When a motion was made in the house of commons, to consider the king's proclamation, Sir William Whitelock, member for the university of Oxford, affirmed it was unprecedented and unwarrantable. Being called upon to explain himself, he made an apology. Nevertheless Sir William Wyndham, rising up, said, the proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of parliaments. When challenged to justify his charge he alledged, that every member was at liberty to speak his thoughts.

He was answered by lord Finch, who said, that there was no doubt but every member  
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had that liberty, as freedom of speech was one of their most essential privileges; but that, at the same time, the house had the liberty and power to censure and punish those members who transgressed the rules of decency, violated the respect due to the crown, and abused the privilege of the house in such a manner within doors, as to render it contemptible without. Sir William being again required to make good his assertion, and still refusing to give that satisfaction, some exclaimed, "The Tower, "The Tower."

Mr. Walpole objected to that kind of punishment; and said he was not for gratifying the desire, which Sir William discovered, of being sent to the tower; it would make him too considerable: but as he was one who set up for a warm champion of the late ministry, and was privy to all their measures, he would rather wish to have him present, when the house came to inquire into their conduct, that so he might have an opportunity of defending his friends, and at the same time be a witness of the candour and impartiality with which the house proceeded against them.

Sir William being ordered to withdraw was followed by one hundred and twenty-nine members; and those, who remained in  
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the house resolved he should be reprimanded by the speaker. He was accordingly rebuked for having presumed to reflect on his majesty's proclamation; and made an unwarrantable use of the freedom of speech granted by his majesty. Sir William said, that as he was a member of the house, he knew he must acquiesce in this determination: but as he was not conscious of having offered any indignity to his majesty, or of having been guilty of any breach of privilege, he had no thanks to return to those gentlemen, who, under pretence of lenity, had subjected him to this censure.

On the ninth day of April general Stanhope delivered to the house of commons, in fourteen volumes, all the papers relating to the late negociations of peace and commerce, as well as to the cessation of arms; and moved, that they might be referred to a select committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report them, with their observations, to the house. One more was added to the number of this secret committee, which was chosen by ballot; and met that same evening. Mr. Robert Walpole, the chairman, being taken ill, his place was supplied by Mr. Stanhope. The whole number was subdivided into three commit-

tees : to each a certain number of books, was allotted ; and they proceeded in their inquiries with great diligence and dispatch.

About this period the nation sustained a considerable loss in the death of two of the warmest friends of the Protestant succession, the bishop of Salisbury and the marquis of Wharton ; the former alike distinguished for his learning, his genius, and his piety ; the latter possessed of admirable talents for the cabinet, the senate, and the common scenes of life ; talents, which a life of pleasure and libertinism did not hinder him from employing with surprising vigour and application.

The committee of the lower house taking the civil list into consideration, proposed, that his majesty should enjoy the same revenue which had been granted to king William. The Tories observed, that, from the seven hundred thousand pounds granted annually to king William, the sum of fifty thousand pounds was allotted to the late queen, then princess of Denmark ; twenty thousand pounds to the duke of Gloucester ; and twice that sum as a dowry to James's queen : that near two hundred thousand pounds had been deducted from the revenues of the late queen's civil list, and applied to other uses ; notwithstanding which  
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deduction, she had honourably maintained her family, and supported the dignity of the crown.

The Whigs replied, that the only intention of proposing the revenue of king William as a precedent for that of his present majesty, was, that, as great endeavours had been used to alienate the affections of the people from the king and his government, by false insinuations, as if they designed to plunge the nation into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly necessary to clear his majesty and his ministers from that malicious aspersion: Lord Guernsey said, that the disaffection of the people, if any, did not proceed from his majesty, but the hardships which his ministers put upon the Tories.

To this it was answered, that the late ministry had used the Whigs, and indeed the whole nation, in such a manner, that nothing they should suffer could be deemed a hardship. At length the house agreed, that the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds should be annually granted for the civil list during his majesty's life. The Tories then moved for an address against pensions; but as these did not amount to twenty-five thousand pounds, the motion was rejected by a great majority.

On the thirtieth day of May the lords took into consideration the bill for regulating the land-forces; when the Tories (for what reason themselves best knew) proposed that the several regiments should be confined to those parts of his majesty's dominions, for which they are allotted: particularly, that the twelve thousand men on the Irish establishment should be obliged to reside in that kingdom. The duke of Marlborough observed that such a restriction might be attended with the most fatal consequences, in case of a foreign invasion or domestic insurrection: that his majesty having trusted himself and his family entirely in the hands of the British nation, it was their duty to leave to his wisdom and discretion the few troops, that were now kept on foot. The bill, accordingly, was soon after passed with a few necessary amendments.

In the course of the same month Sir John Norris sailed, with a squadron of twenty ships, to the Baltic, in order to protect the commerce of the nation, which had suffered from the king of Sweden, who caused all ships trading to those parts to be seized and confiscated. That prince had rejected the treaty of neutrality concerted by the allies for the security of the empire; and

and considered the English and Dutch as his enemies. The ministers of England and Holland had delivered memorials to the regency of Sweden, but finding no redress they determined to protect their trade by force of arms.

After the Swedish general Steenbeck and his army were made prisoners, count Wallen concluded a treaty with the administrator of Holstein-Gottorp, by which the towns of Stetin and Wismar were sequestered into the hands of the king of Prussia; and the administrator undertook to secure them and all the rest of Swedish Pomerania from the northern allies, the Poles and Muscovites: but as count Meyerfeldt, the governor of Pomerania, refused to comply with this treaty, these confederates marched into the province, reduced the isle of Rugen, and compelled Stetin to surrender. Meyerfeldt, affected by these losses, and trembling for the security of the whole province, agreed to the sequestration, and paid to the Poles and Muscovites four hundred thousand rixdollars, to indemnify them for the expence of the siege.

The king of Sweden returning from Turkey, refused to ratify the treaty of sequestration, and insisted upon Stetin's being restored, without his paying the money

stipulated. As this monarch likewise threatened to invade the electorate of Saxony, and chastize his false friends, as he called them; king George, for the security of his German dominions, concluded a treaty with the king of Denmark; by which the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from Charles in his absence, were made over to his Britannick majesty, on condition that he should immediately declare war against Sweden.

Accordingly, he took possession of these dutchies on the fifteenth of October; published a declaration of war against Charles, in his German dominions; and sent six thousand Hanoverians to join the Danes and Prussians in Pomerania. These allies subdued the islands of Rugen and Uledon, and invested the towns of Wismar and Stralsund, from which last place Charles was obliged to retire in a vessel to Schonen.

There he assembled a body of troops, with which he proposed to pass the Sound, upon the ice, and attack Copenhagen; but was prevented by a sudden thaw. Nevertheless, he refused to return to Stockholm, which he had not seen for sixteen years; but remained at Carlskroon, in order to hasten his fleet, for the relief of Wismar.

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Mean while, the Jacobites in England exerted their utmost endeavours, in exciting a spirit of disaffection to the government; and in these they were so successful, that they had now engaged the rabble in their party. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for preserving the peace, frequent tumults were raised by the malecontents in the cities of London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the king's birth day, with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the mob: but, next day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations. The populace even compelled the few life-guards who patrolled the streets, to join in the cry of "High church and Ormond!"

As this tumult was altogether unexpected, there was not a sufficient force at hand to suppress it; but the citizens and constables having attacked the rioters in Cheapside, found means to disperse them, and secured and imprisoned about thirty of the delinquents. One Bournois, a Popish priest, who had proclaimed, in the streets, that the king had no right to the crown, was tried, and whipped through the city; and, his constitution being already destroyed by the venereal

real disease, he died in a few days after his punishment.

A trifling incident helped to increase the popular ferment. The first regiment of guards, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, having lately received their new cloathing, the shirts were found so remarkably coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the king's and the duke of Marlborough's gardens. A detachment, in marching through the city, to relieve the guard at the Tower, produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, crying out, "These are the Hanover shirts!" The court, being informed of this circumstance, and apprehending the consequences, ordered those shirts to be burned immediately, and new ones to be made. The Jacobites endeavoured to load the duke of Marlborough with the odium of this imposition on the soldiers; but it appeared that the fault was entirely in the undertaker for the regiment.

An intercepted letter from one captain Wright, a reformed officer, contained the following expressions: "The duke of Ormond has got the better of all his enemies, and I hope we shall be able, in a little time, to send George home to his own country again." A reward of fifty pounds

pounds was offered, by the government, to any person that should discover the captain; and, about the same time, Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable letters being found in this packet, were transmitted to England: Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance; and Swift thought proper to abscond.

Notwithstanding these symptoms of disaffection, a petition being presented to the house of lords, in behalf of five criminals who had hitherto remained in prison for conspiring the death of king William, some Tories, out of their great humanity, proposed that a day should be appointed to consider their request.

Lord Townsend expressed his surprize, that any member of that august assembly should venture to speak in favour of such execrable wretches, who designed to have imbrued their hands in the blood of their sovereign; especially at a time, when so many made no scruple of avowing their hatred to his majesty's government. He therefore moved, that the petition should be rejected, and the motion was carried without a division.

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In the lower house, Mr. Shippen, a violent Tory, having boasted, that, after all the clamours raised against the late ministry, the labours of the secret committee would, at last, end in smoke; Mr. Boscawen replied, that he was astonished at the insolence of some men, who, though they had been guilty of the blackest crimes, had yet the assurance to dare the justice of the nation: but he hoped those crimes would not long remain unpunished.

By this time, the committee was ready to deliver their report; and, on the ninth day of June, Mr. Walpole, as chairman, moved, that a warrant might be issued for apprehending several persons, particularly, Mr. Prior, and Mr. Thomas Harley, who, being in the house, were immediately taken into custody. Then he read the report, ranged under these different heads: the clandestine negotiations with monsieur Mesnager, in consequence of which two sets of preliminary articles were drawn; the one private and special for Great-Britain only: the other general for all the allies: the extraordinary measures pursued to form the congress at Utrecht: the trifling of the French plenipotentiaries, by the connivance of the British ministers: the negotiations about the renunciation of the Spanish monarchy: the fatal

suspension of arms: the seizure of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the allies, and favour the French: the duke of Ormond's acting in concert with the French general: the lord Bolingbroke's journey to France to negotiate a separate peace: Mr. Prior's and the duke of Shrewsbury's negotiations in France: the precipitate conclusion of the peace at Utrecht.

The report being recited, the Tories moved, that the consideration of it should be postponed to a certain day; and that in the mean time, the report should be presented for the perusal of the members. To this it was answered, that as the Tories had formerly complained of the slowness of the committee, they ought not, now that the report was finished, to endeavour to interpose unnecessary delays: that the report would be printed, in order to convince the world of the fairness and impartiality of all their proceedings: but that the crimes of some persons, named in the report, were so obvious at first sight, that the house ought immediately to proceed to their impeachment. The motion for an adjournment was therefore rejected by a considerable majority.

This point being determined, Mr. Walpole impeached Henry, lord viscount Bolingbroke

lingbroke, of high-treason, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hungerford alledged, that nothing mentioned in the report, in relation to lord Bolingbroke, amounted to high-treason. Then lord Coningsby, standing up, "the worthy chairman," said he, "has impeached the hand; but I impeach the head: he has impeached the clerk; and I, the justice: he has impeached the scholar; and I, the master. I impeach Robert earl of Oxford and earl Mortimer, of high-treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours."

Mr. Auditor Harley, the earl's brother, spoke in vindication of that minister. He affirmed, that he had done nothing but by the immediate command of his mistress: that the peace was a good peace, and approved as such by two parliaments: and that the facts charged to him in the report could not be construed, in the rigour of the law, to amount to high treason, but only to misdemeanours. Mr. Auditor Foley, the earl's brother in law, made a speech to the same purpose: but, what was more favourable for Oxford, Sir Joseph Jekyll, a member of the committee said, that though he had no doubt of lord Bolingbroke's being guilty of high-treason, he yet question-  
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ed, whether they had sufficient matter of evidence to impeach the earl of that crime. Nevertheless, as the committee declared, that besides the proof contained in the report, they had the advantage of personal evidence, it was resolved to impeach him, without a division.

When he appeared, next day, in the house of lords, he found himself avoided, as infectious; and retired with manifest signs of confusion. Prior and Harley having been examined by such of the committee as were justices of the peace for Middlesex, Mr. Walpole told the house, that matters of such importance appeared in these examinations, that he was directed to move for Prior's being closely confined. He was accordingly cut off from all communication.

On the twenty first day of June, Mr. secretary Stanhope impeached James duke of Ormond of high treason, and of other high crimes and misdemeanours. Mr. Hutchinson, one of the commissioners of trade, spoke in behalf of the duke. He expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications: he enumerated the great services performed to the crown and nation by his grace and his ancestors: he urged, that, in the whole course of his late conduct, he

had only obeyed the queen's commands; and concluded by affirming, that if all allegations against him were proved, they would not, in the rigour of the law, amount to more than high misdemeanours.

Mr. Huchinson was seconded by Mr. Lumley, who observed, that the duke of Ormond had, on all occasions, given signal proofs of his affection for his country, as well as of personal courage, particularly at the battle of Landau, where he was wounded and taken prisoner: that he had received the highest encomiums from the late king William for his gallant behaviour; that, during the war, he had generously expended the best part of his fortune abroad, by living in a most noble and splendid manner, for the honour of his country; and that, therefore, if he had of late been so unfortunate as to fail in any part of his conduct, they ought not to proceed against him with the utmost vigour of the law; the rather, as he had ever meant well, and had been drawn into ill measures by crafty ministers.

Sir Joseph Jekyll said, that if there was room for mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous peer, who had, in a course of many years, exerted those great accomplishments for the good and honour of his country:

that

that as the statute of Edward the third, on which the charge of high treason against him was founded, had been mitigated by subsequent acts, the house ought not, in his opinion, to take advantage of that act against the duke, but only impeach him of high crimes and misdemeanours. The duke was likewise defended by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Ward, Mr. Hungetford, and several others of both parties. Nevertheless, after a long debate, the question being put, was carried for his impeachment by a great majority; and the duke apprehending the consequences of a trial, thought proper to withdraw from the kingdom.

The case of this nobleman, it must be owned was extremely hard, as he well deserved all the compliments that were paid him by his advocates. Perhaps too, as a military man, he was obliged implicitly to obey the orders of his sovereign, or, which was the same thing, of her ministers, graced with her name. Supposing, however, that he had no right to resign his command, without the consent of his sovereign; he might certainly have insisted on his dismissal from the service with greater earnestness than he ever discovered. He once, indeed, seemed to express a desire of being

recalled from the army; but this was insinuated in such vague and general terms, that it could hardly be supposed to produce any effect.

But, whatever may be said in defence of his conduct, while abroad, his behaviour, since his return to England, will admit of no apology. Instead of behaving in that humble and submissive manner, which his unhappy situation required, he affected to set his enemies at defiance. He had even the imprudence to justify his conduct in a pamphlet, which was published, and which was so far from answering the intended purpose, that it served only to draw upon him a greater load of odium. Nor was he at sufficient pains to discountenance those, who made use of his name to excite popular tumults. On the contrary he seemed rather to favour and encourage them. With this view, an advertisement was handed about London, in which it was affirmed, that the dutchess of Ormond, in her return from Richmond, was stopped upon the road by three armed persons in disguise, who inquired if the duke was in the coach, and appeared by their looks, to have a design upon his life.

His enemies did not fail to represent, and, perhaps, to aggravate these three circumstances

stances. They said, that he could not be ignorant of the tumults and riots, which were every day raised in his name, and that, as he did not publicly disown those disturbers of the peace, his silence must be considered as an approbation of their conduct, and seemed to summon the people to a general insurrection.

On the twenty-second day of June, Mr. Aislaby impeached the earl of Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanours, for having advised the fatal suspension of arms, and the seizing of Ghent and Bruges; and for having treated the most serene house of Hanover with insolence and contempt. The Whigs insisted that the bishop of London was entirely ignorant of the private negotiation between France and England; nor was he admitted into any of those secrets, which constituted the criminal part of the earl's conduct. The Tories replied, that though the bishop was involved in the same guilt with the earl, they plainly perceived he was to have the benefit of the clergy.

When the articles against the earl of Oxford were read in the house, a warm debate arose upon the eleventh, by which he was charged with having advised the French king in what manner Tournay might be gained from the States-General. The ques-

tion being put, whether this article amounted to high-treason? Sir Robert Raymond, formerly solicitor-general, maintained the negative, and was supported not only by Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Bromley, Mr. Hungerford, and other Tories, but likewise by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who said, that it was ever his maxim to do justice to every man from the highest to the lowest; and that it was the duty of an honest man never to act by a spirit of party: that he hoped he might pretend to some knowledge of the laws of the kingdom: and that as, in the committee of secrecy, he had taken the liberty to differ from his colleagues, he would not scruple now to declare to the whole house, that, in his judgment, the charge in question did not amount to high-treason.

Most of the members of the committee were offended at this speech, which both revealed and censured their proceedings. Mr. Walpole, in particular, answered with some warmth, that there were several persons both in and out of the committee, who did not in the least yield to Sir Joseph Jekyll in point of honesty; and who, without derogating from his merit, were superior to him in the knowledge of the laws, yet were satisfied that the charge specified in the eleventh article amounted to high-treason.

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This point being carried against the earl, lord Coningsby, attended by a great number of members, impeached the earl of Oxford at the bar of the house of lords, demanding, at the same time, that he might be sequestered from parliament, and committed to safe custody.

The commons being withdrawn, a Tory lord moved, that the consideration of the articles might be adjourned. He was seconded by Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, who alledged, that, as this accusation was of so extraordinary a nature, and so very important both in itself and consequences, the house ought to proceed with the utmost caution and deliberation. The duke of Argyle replied, that it was well known the prelate, who spoke last, had of late studied politics more than divinity, and was thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the subject; and therefore he doubted not but his lordship was as well prepared to speak to the articles now, as he could be, had he ever so much time to consider.

After a short debate the articles were read: then the Tory lords moved, that the judges might be consulted, whether the charge amounted to treason. This motion being rejected, another was made, that the earl should be committed to safe custody.

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This produced a fresh debate, in which he himself spoke to the following purpose : that the whole charge might be reduced to the negotiations and conclusion of the peace : that the nation wanted a peace, he said, nobody would deny : that the conditions of this peace were as good as could be expected, considering the backwardness and reluctance which some of the allies shewed to come into the queen's measures : that the peace was approved by two successive parliaments : that he had no share in the affair of Tournay, which was wholly transacted by that unfortunate nobleman, who had thought fit to step aside : that, nevertheless, he would venture to say in his behalf, that, if that charge could be proved, it would not amount to treason ; that, for his own part, he had always acted by the immediate directions and commands of the late queen, without offending against any known law ; and being justified by his own conscience, was unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man : that if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their sovereign, were to be accountable for their proceedings, it might, one day or other, be the case with all the members of that august assembly : that he doubted not but their lordships, out of regard to themselves,  
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would give him an equitable hearing, and he hoped, that, in the course of the enquiry, it would appear, that he had merited, not only the indulgence, but even the favour of the government. "My lords," said he, "I am now to take my leave of your lordships, and of this honourable house, perhaps for ever. I shall lay down my life, with pleasure, in a cause favoured by my dear royal mistress. When I consider, that I am to be judged by the justice, honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce, and retire with great content : and, my lords, God's will be done."

Not to animadvert upon the general substance of the earl's apology, there is one point which cannot be passed over in silence ; namely, that where he seems to insinuate, that his acting by the express command of his sovereign, was a sufficient vindication of his conduct. Were this maxim admitted, it would be attended with the most fatal consequences. A king of Great-Britain can do no wrong, because, by the constitution, he can do nothing of himself. But if he can delegate this prerogative to his servants, then there is an end of the liberty of the subject. The king, being incapable of doing any wrong, cannot possibly be called to an account ;

account : the ministers being equally impeccable, must, of course, enjoy the same exemption. But the king may issue what orders he pleases, and the ministers may execute these orders : and thus the religion, liberty, and property of the subject may be destroyed, while the authors of these outrages remain secure from all kind of punishment.

Nothing seems to be more plain than this reasoning, nor any thing more absurd than the conclusion it produces : and yet it is surprising with what confidence and what an air of triumph both these ministers did then insist, and all their apologists ever since have insisted on this ridiculous topic. The truth is, that these men either are, or appear to be ignorant of the constitution of their country : or, perhaps, to speak more properly, they mistake their wishes for their sentiments : instead of subjects they would make us slaves : instead of a free, they would give us a despotic government.

The duke of Shrewsbury, having acquainted the house, that the earl was very much indisposed with the gravel, he was suffered to remain at own house, in the custody of the black rod : and, in his way thither, he was attended by a great number of the populace, exclaiming, " High-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever !" Notwithstanding

standing these circumstances, of twenty bishops, then in the house, six only voted in his favour.

Next day he was brought to the bar, where he received a copy of the articles, and was allowed a month to prepare his answer. He thanked the house for their great humanity, in not sending him to the Tower, on account of his indisposition; and, as he was still afflicted with the same malady, he humbly desired they would permit him to continue a few days at his own house, under the usual custody. In order to second this petition, Dr. Mead declared, that if he should be sent to the Tower, his life would be in danger; but it was urged in reply, that, as he came to the house in his own coach, he might, with as much ease have been carried to the Tower, either by water, or in a sedan; and that there too he might have the same attendance of his friends and physicians, as if he was at home. It was therefore resolved by a great majority, that he should be conveyed to the Tower on the sixteenth day of July.

In the course of the debate the earl of Anglesey alledged, that these impeachments were disagreeable to the nation; and that it was to be feared such violent measures might make the sceptre shake in the king's hands. This expression threw the whole house

house into a flame. Some members cried "To the Tower:" some, "To order."

The earl of Sunderland said, he glowed with indignation to hear such words pronounced in that august assembly: that if they had been spoken any where else, he would have called the person, that spoke them, to an account; but all they could do at present was to desire him to explain himself. He was seconded by the duke of Roxburgh, who said, that the sceptre was so firmly fixed in the king's hand, that, instead of shaking, it would crush all his enemies. Anglesey, dreading the resentment of the house, was glad to make an apology; which, after some hesitation, was accepted. Oxford was attended to the Tower by a great concourse of the common people, who did not fail to repeat their usual cry of "high-church, Ormond, and Oxford for ever!"

Nor was it only in London that these disturbances prevailed. Tumults were raised in Staffordshire and other parts of the kingdom against the dissenters, many of whose meeting-houses were pulled to the ground. In order to quell these commotions, the commons presented an address to the king, desiring that the laws might be vigorously executed against the rioters. With the same view they prepared the proclamation-act,  
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decreeing, that if any persons to the number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should continue together an hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of the peace or other officer, and heard the proclamation against riots read in public, they should be deemed guilty of felony without benefit of the clergy.

On the twentieth day of July the king came to the house of peers; and after giving his royal assent to the proclamation and some other bills, told the two houses in a short speech, that the zeal they had shewn for preserving the peace of his kingdoms, and the wisdom they had discovered in providing so good a law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous assemblies, gave him great satisfaction; but he was sorry to find, that such a spirit of rebellion had appeared, as left no room to doubt, but these disorders were excited and encouraged by persons disaffected to his government, in expectation of being supported from abroad: that the preservation of the British constitution and the security of the Protestant religion, ever had been and ever should be his chief care; and he was firmly persuaded, that their concern for these invaluable blessings was so great, that they would not suffer them to be exposed to the danger of an insurrection

at home, and a rebellion from abroad, which, he had received certain advice the pretender was preparing: that, in these circumstances, he thought proper to ask their assistance, and made no doubt but they would so far consult their own security, as not to leave the nation in a defenceless condition: and that whatever provision they should make for the safety of his people, he should consider as the best mark of their affection to him.

Addresses containing the warmest expressions of duty and affection, were presented by the parliament, the convocation, the common council and lieutenancy of London, and by most of the counties and corporations in the kingdom. The same assurances were given by the two universities: but the members of Oxford were told, that, as they had shewn an open disrespect to his majesty's person and government, in their late conduct, it was expected they should satisfy him better of their loyalty by their actions, before they attempted it in words. It seems, that, besides former causes of complaint, some of the king's officers, who were beating up for volunteers in Oxford, had been attacked by the scholars, and narrowly escaped with their lives.

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The parliament forthwith passed an act, empowering the king to secure suspected persons, and suspend the *Habeas Corpus* act in this time of danger. A clause was added to a money-bill, offering a reward of one hundred thousand pounds to such as should seize the pretender, dead or alive. Sir George Byng was sent to take the command of the fleet: General Erle was dispatched to his government of Portsmouth: the guards were encamped in Hyde-park: lord Irwin was appointed governour of Hull, in the room of brigadier Sutton, who, with the lord Windfor, the generals Ross, Webb, and Stuart, were dismissed from the service. Orders were given for raising thirteen regiments of dragoons, and eight of infantry, and the nomination of the officers was left to the dukes of Marlborough and Argyle.

Mean while, the commons added six articles to those already exhibited against the earl of Oxford. Lord Bolingbroke was impeached at the bar of the upper house, by Mr. Walpole; and bills were brought in to summon him and the duke of Ormond to surrender themselves by the tenth day of September, or, in default thereof, to attainit them of high treason.

It is observable, that, when the articles against these two noblemen were read, a gentle-

tleman of considerable estate, and who had hitherto voted with the Tories, said, that the report of the committee of secrecy had begun to open his eyes, and that the flight of the duke of Ormond had convinced him, that the ministry were a set of knaves and villains who would have ruined their country, and made it a province to France. On the same occasion, the lord Stanhope, son to the earl of Chelsterfield, observed, that he never wished to spill the blood of his countrymen, much less of any nobleman; but that he was persuaded, the safety of his country required, that examples should be made of those, who had betrayed it in so infamous a manner.

On the last day of August, the commons agreed to the articles against the earl of Strafford, and sent them up to the lords by Mr. Aislaby. When these were read in the upper house, the earl made a speech in his own defence. He complained that his papers had been seized in an unprecedented manner. He said, that if, in his letters or discourse, he had dropped any unguarded expressions against some foreign ministers, while he had the honour to represent the crown of Great-Britain, he hoped they would not be accounted criminal by a British house of Peers. He desired, that he might be al-  
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lowed a competent time to answer the articles brought against him, and have duplicates of all the papers, which had either been laid before the committee of secrecy, or remained in the hands of the government, to be used occasionally in his justification.

This request was warmly opposed by several noblemen, until the earl of May observed, that, in all civilized nations, all courts of judicature, except the inquisition, allowed the persons arraigned all that was necessary for their justification: and that the house of peers of Great-Britain ought not, in this case, to do any thing contrary to that honour and equity, for which they were so justly renowned throughout all Europe. The house, influenced by these observations, resolved, that the earl should be indulged with copies of such papers as he might think necessary for his defence.

On the third day of September, Oxford's answer was delivered to the house of lords, who transmitted it to the commons. Mr. Walpole, having heard it read, affirmed that it contained little more than what had been suggested, in vindication of the late ministry, in a pamphlet, entitled, "The conduct of 'the allies.'" and repeated over and over

in the papers called, "The Examiner:" that the main drift of it seemed to be to prove these two assertions; first, that the earl of Oxford had no share in advising and managing the matters contained in the articles against him, but the late queen did every thing; secondly, that the late queen was a wise, good, and pious princess: that, if the second proposition were not better founded than the first, the reputation of that excellent princess would be very precarious; but, as every body must own her to have been a good and pious queen, so it was notorious, that the earl of Oxford, as prime minister, was the chief adviser, promoter, and manager of the matters charged upon him in the articles: that, therefore, his answer was a false and malicious libel, laying upon his royal mistress the blame of the pernicious measures, in which he had engaged her: that he hoped the earl's endeavouring to screen himself behind the queen's name, would avail him nothing; as the admitting such a principle was attended with consequences inconsistent with all the maxims of a free government: that, though the earl had the assurance to aver, that he had no share in the management of the affairs which were transacted, while he was at the helm, yet he pretended to justify the late measures;

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and therefore, in that respect, his answer ought to be considered as a libel on the proceedings of the commons, since he endeavoured to clear those persons who had already confessed their guilt by flight. After some debate, the house resolved, that the answer of Robert earl of Oxford should be referred to the committee appointed to draw up articles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against the impeached lords: and that the committee should prepare a replication to the answer. This was accordingly prepared, and sent up to the lords.

Next day the committee reported, that Mr. Prior had grossly prevaricated in his examination, and behaved with great contempt of the authority of parliament. The duke of Ormond and the lord viscount Bolingbroke having neglected to surrender themselves within the time limited, the house of lords ordered the earl-marshal to raze out of the list of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their personal estates; and the duke's Achievement, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's chapel at Windsor.

About this time the royal assent was given to an act for encouraging loyalty in Scotland. This law decreed, that the tenant, who continued peaceable, while his lord took  
arms

arms, should be invested with the property of the lands he rented ; that the lands possessed by any person guilty of high-treason, should revert to the superior, of whom he held, and be consolidated with the superiority : and that all entails and settlements of estates since the first of August of the preceding year, in favour of children, with a fraudulent intent to avoid the punishment of the law due to the offence of high-treason, should be null and void. It likewise contained a clause for summoning all suspected persons to find bail for their good behaviour on pain of being denounced rebels. In consequence of this clause all the heads of the Jacobite clans were summoned to appear at Edinburgh : and those, who refused to obey the summons, were declared rebels.

By this time, the rebellion was actually begun in Scotland, under the direction of the earl of Mar, who hoped to be supported by a strong party in England. This nobleman, at the death of queen Anne, was secretary of state for Scotland, and was one of the first, who made profession of loyalty and affection to his present majesty. But not meeting with the encouragement he expected, he retired in disgust to his own country, where, prompted by resentment

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and ambition, he resolved to make an effort in favour of the pretender.

The Scots, it is certain, were, at this time, universally discontented on account of the introduction of the malt-tax and some other grievances they had suffered in consequence of the union; and the Jacobites, who fondly and foolishly imagined, that all who were dissatisfied from these causes, entertained the same sentiments with themselves, transmitted a memorial to the pretender, in which they assured him, that the nation was wholly disaffected to the new government, and that his appearance in Britain would produce an immediate revolution.

The pretender resolved to take advantage of this favourable disposition. He had recourse to the French king, who favoured him in secret; and who, notwithstanding his late engagements with England, entertained the desire of raising him to the throne of Great-Britain. He supplied him privately with sums of money to prepare a small armament in the Port of Havre; and, in all probability, his design was to support him more powerfully, in proportion as the English should manifest their attachment to the abdicated family. The duke of Ormond and the lord Bolingbroke, who had retired to France, hearing they were condemned  
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and attainted by the parliament, engaged in the service of the pretender, and corresponded with the Tories of England.

These intrigues and machinations did not escape the notice of the earl of Stair, who then resided as English ambassador at Paris, and who took care to transmit an early account of them to the king of Great-Britain, as enabled him to take effectual measures to defeat their design. All the pretender's interest in France expired with Lewis the fourteenth, that restless and ambitious tyrant, who, for above half a century, had disturbed the peace and tranquillity of Europe. At his death, which happened on the first day of September, the regency of the kingdom devolved to the duke of Orleans, who embraced a new system of politics, and had already entered into engagements with the king of England. Instead of assisting the pretender, he amused him with empty promises, which he never meant to perform; and though, in order to save appearances, he furnished him with a sum of money and a small quantity of arms, he resolved in secret never to support him in his ridiculous enterprize.

Mean while the Jacobites had proceeded too far to retreat with safety; and therefore determined to try their fortune in the field. The earl of Mar repaired to the Highlands, where he held consultations with the mar-  
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quisses of Huntley and Tullibardine, the earls of Southesk and Marischal, the generals Hamilton and Gordon, and the chiefs of the disaffected clans. Then he assembled about three hundred of his own vassals, proclaimed the pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae-Mar, on the fifth day of September. These circumstances were no sooner known in the southern provinces, than the earls of Hume, Winton, and Kin-noul, the lord Deskford, Lockhart of Carn-warth, Hume of Whitefield, and other suspected persons were committed prisoners to the castle of Edinburgh; and major-general Whetham marched with the regular troops, which were in that kingdom, to secure the bridge of Stirling. Several ships of war had been sent to watch the preparations making at Havre; but, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of these cruizers, two vessels arrived on the coast of Scotland with arms, ammunition, and a good number of officers, who assured the earl of Mar, that the pretender would soon be with him in person.

The death of Lewis the fourteenth struck a general damp upon the spirits of the rebels; but they flattered themselves with the fond hopes that they should receive considerable assistance from England. The earl of Mar, by letters and messages, pressed the  
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chevalier to come over with the utmost expedition. In the mean time he assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the pretender's forces, published a declaration exhorting the people to take up arms; and this was succeeded by a long manifesto, explaining the national grievances, and assuring the people of redress.

Some of his adherents attempted to surprise the castle of Edinburgh; but were happily prevented by the vigilance and activity of colonel Stuart, lieutenant-governor of that fortress. The duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain: the earl of Sutherland set sail in the Queenborough man of war for the north, where he proposed to raise his vassals for the service of his majesty: the duke of Roxburgh, the marquisses of Annandale and Tweeddale, the earls of Selkirk, Loudon, Rothes, and many other Scottish peers returned to their own country, in order to signalize their loyalty to the king, and their zeal for the government.

Mean while, a dangerous conspiracy was discovered and defeated in England. Lieutenant-colonel Paul was imprisoned in the Gate-house, for enlisting men in the service of the pretender. The titular duke of Powis was committed to the Tower: the lords

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Lansdowne and Duplin were taken into custody: and a warrant was issued for apprehending the earl of Jersey. The king, by the mouth of secretary Stanhope, desired the consent of the lower house, to seize and detain Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Edward Harvey of Combe, Mr. Thomas Forster, Mr. John Anstis, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, who were members of the house, and suspected of favouring the invasion. The commons unanimously agreed to the proposal, and presented an address intimating their approbation.

Harvey and Anstis happening to be in town, were immediately secured: Mr. Forster, with the assistance of some Popish lords, raised an insurrection in Northumberland: Sir John Packington was examined before the council; and nothing appearing against him, was honourably discharged: Mr. Kynaston absconded: Sir William Wyndham was seized at his own house in Somersetshire, by colonel Huske, and a messenger, who secured his papers: he found means, however, to escape from them, but being closely pursued, he thought proper to surrender himself, and, having been examined at the council-board, was committed to the Tower.

It was reported, that his father-in-law, the duke of Somerset, offered to become bound for his appearance ; and being rejected as bail, expressed his resentment in such terms as gave ground for suspicion. Certain it is, whatever was the cause, the duke was, at this time, removed from his office of master of the horse.

On the twenty-fourth day of September, the king went to the house of peers, where, after having passed the bills that were ready for the royal assent, he made a speech to both houses. He said, it was scarce to be imagined, that any of his Protestant subjects, who had known and enjoyed the benefits of a free constitution, and had heard of the great dangers from which they were delivered by the happy revolution, should, by any arts or practices, have been drawn into measures, which must at once destroy their religion and liberty, and subject them to Popery and arbitrary power ; but such was the misfortune of the times, that too many of his people had been deluded, and induced to engage in the designs of the pretender, who would never have dared to think of invading these kingdoms, had he not been encouraged by the success, which his emissaries and adherents had already had, in stirring up riots and tumults, and by the  
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farther hopes which they still entertained, of exciting insurrections, in many parts of the kingdom: that the endeavouring to persuade his people, that the church of England was in danger under his government, had been the main artifice employed in carrying on this wicked and traitorous design: that this insinuation, after the assurances he had given of his resolution to support the church, and the readiness with which he had laid hold of every opportunity to demonstrate the sincerity of his intentions, was equally unjust and ungrateful; nor could he believe that so groundless and malicious a calumny could ever make any impression on the minds of his faithful subjects, or that they could be ever so far misled as to think, that the church of England was to be served, by placing a Popish pretender on the throne: that the proofs which this parliament had given of their unshaken duty and fidelity to him, and of their zeal and concern for the interest of their country, would recommend them to the esteem and approbation of all who had their religion and liberty truly at heart: and that he questioned not, but, by their further assistance in the several counties to which they were going, he should be able to disappoint the designs of his enemies. Then the parliament was prorogued to the sixth day

day of October, and afterwards to the ninth of January.

The Jacobites were very numerous in the western counties and began to make preparations for an insurrection. They had concealed some arms and artillery at Bath, and had formed a design to surprize Bristol; but the government being apprized of their proceedings, took such measures as effectually defeated all their projects.

The conduct of the university of Oxford was extremely exceptionable on this occasion. They chose the earl of Arran their chancellor, in the place of his brother the duke of Ormond, who had just been attainted. The vice-chancellor, in a speech which he made at the instalment, extolled the eminent virtues of the family of Butler; enumerated the many obligations they had laid on that seminary of learning; and observed, that the duke of Ormond having, before his withdrawing beyond sea, thought fit to resign the place of chancellor of the university, they could not better express their gratitude, both to his grace and his noble ancestors, than by chusing his brother, the earl of Arran, in his room. As a further proof of their disaffection, they conferred the degree of doctor of laws on Sir John Everard, a famous nonjuror. They even

even held consultations with several half-pay officers, Irish Papists, and other Jacobites, who had taken refuge in the city, and who were actually preparing to rise in arms.

The execution of their designs was prevented by the government. Major-general Pepper, with a strong detachment of dragoons, took possession of the city at day-break, declaring he would use military execution on all students who should appear without the limits of their respective colleges. He seized ten or eleven of their suspected persons, with whom he retired to Abingdon; and Handyside's regiment was afterwards quartered in Oxford, to overawe the university.

By this time the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster had taken the field with a body of horse, and being joined by some malecontents from the borders of Scotland, proclaimed the pretender in Warkworth, Morpeth and Alnwick. Their first design was to seize the town of Newcastle, which they intended to have made their headquarters: but finding the gates shut against them, they retired to Hexham; while lieutenant-general Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to march from Newcastle and attack them before their numbers should encrease.

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The rebels retired northward towards Woodlee, and were joined by two hundred Scottish horse under the lord viscount Kenmuir and the earls of Carnwath and Winton, who had set up the pretender's standard at Moffat; and proclaimed him in different parts of Scotland. Strengthened by this accession of force, they proceeded to Kelso, having received advice, that there they should be joined by Mackintosh, who had crossed the Forth with a body of Highlanders.

The earl of Mar was now at the head of ten thousand men, well armed. He had secured the pass of Tay at Perth, where his head-quarters were established, and made himself master of the whole fruitful province of Fife, and all the sea coast on that side of the Frith of Edinburgh. He selected two thousand five hundred men, commanded by brigadier Mackintosh, to make a descent upon the Lothian side, and join the Jacobites who had taken arms in the southern counties. Boats were assembled for this purpose; and, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the king's ships, one half of them made good their passage in the night, and landed on the coast of Lothian, having crossed an arm of the sea about sixteen miles broad, in  
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open boats that passed through the midst of the king's cruisers.

This was certainly a most bold and hazardous enterprize, concerted with great ability, and executed with no less spirit. They amused the king's ships with marches and counter-marches till night approached, when embarking in a place that could least be expected, they accomplished their design without any opposition. The earl of Mar, in the mean time marched from Perth to Dumblain; as if he had intended to pass the Forth of Sterling-bridge; but his real design was to divert the duke of Argyle from attacking his detachment, which had landed on Lothian.

Nor did the stratagem prove unsuccessful. The duke, who had assembled some troops in Lothian, repaired to Sterling with the utmost expedition, after having secured Edinburgh; and compelled Mackintosh to abandon his design on that city. This chieftain had actually made himself master of Leith, from whence he retired to Seaton-house, near Preston-pans, which he fortified in such a manner, that he could not be forced without artillery. Here he continued until he received an order across the Frith, from the earl of Mar, to join lord Kenmuir and the English at Kelso, for which place he

he immediately set out, and reached it on the twenty-second day of October, though several of his men deserted by the way.

The lord Kenmuir, with the earls of Winton, Nithsdale, and Carnwath, and the earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster with the English rebels, arriving at the same time a council of war was immediately held. Winton proposed, that they should march directly into the Western parts of Scotland, and join general Gordon, who was at the head of a strong body of Highlanders in Argyleshire. The English insisted upon passing the Tweed, and attacking general Carpenter, whose troops were fatigued with a long march, and hardly amounted to nine hundred men. Neither scheme was executed.

They took the route to Jedburg, where they intended to leave general Carpenter on one side, and enter England by the Western border. The Highlanders declared they would not quit their own country, but were ready to execute the scheme proposed by the earl of Winton. Means, however, were found to persuade about one half of them to advance, while the rest retired to the Highlands. At Brampton, Forster produced his commission of general, which had been sent to him from the earl of Mar, and proclaimed the pretender.

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They continued their march to Penrith, where the sheriff, assisted by the lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle, had drawn together the whole *Posse Comitatus* of Cumberland, amounting nearly to twelve thousand men, who shamefully dispersed at the approach of the rebels. From Penrith, Forster advanced by the way of Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, from whence Stanhope's regiment of dragoons, and another of militia immediately retired; so that he took possession of the place without resistance.

General Wills marched against the rebels with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot commanded by colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribbel before Forster was informed of their approach. He presently began to raise barricadoes, and make preparations for a vigorous defence. On the twelfth day of November the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next morning general Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders proposed to make a sally sword in hand, declaring they would either cut their way

way through the king's forces, or perish in the attempt: but they were persuaded to desist from such a desperate resolution.

Forster sent colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to general Wills, to desire a capitulation. The general replied, he would not treat with rebels; they had killed several of the king's subjects; and they must expect to undergo the same fate. The colonel said, that as the general was a man of honour, and an officer, he hoped he would shew mercy to people, who were willing to submit. Wills answered, that all he could do for them, was, that, in case of their surrendering at discretion, he would prevent his men from putting them to the sword, until he should receive farther orders. He granted them time to consider till next morning, upon their delivering the earl of Derwentwater and Mackintosh as hostages.

When Forster sent a message offering to accept the terms proposed, Mackintosh declared he could not promise that the Highlanders would surrender in that manner: The general desired him to return to his people, and he would instantly attack the town, in which case every man of them should be cut in pieces. The Scottish chieftain did not chuse to run that risque; and persuaded the Highlanders to yield themselves

selves prisoners. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard.

All the noblemen and principal gentlemen were secured. Lord Charles Murray, the duke of Athole, major Nairn, captain Lockart, captain Shaftoe, and ensign Erskine, were tried by a court-martial as deserters, and condemned. The first was respited: the other four were executed. The common men were imprisoned at Chester, and Liverpoole: the noblemen and considerable officers were sent up to London, and committed to the Tower, the Marshalsea, the Fleet, and Newgate.

*End of the THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME,*



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